# *FLAGELLUM:*

OR

# The *LIFE* and *DEATH*, *BIRTH* and *BURIAL* OF OLIVER CROMWEL

## *The late Usurper.*

Faithfully described, with an EXACT Account of His Policies and Successes, Not heretofore Published or Discovered.

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By JA. HEATH *olim ex Æde Christi Oxon.*

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*The Second Edition Enlarged.*

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---- Furto *laetatur* inani
*Distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem.*
Virg. Æneid.

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# To the Right Honourable Sir JOHN ROBINSON Knight and Baronet, LORD MAIOR of the City Of LONDON.

*May it please your Lordship,*

*HAving formed this Monstrous shape of Tyranny, my own Horrour advised me to expose it to the world without any mark or signature, which should direct to the knowledge of its Production: But perceiving by its return to my Hand and the Press again, that the World (taken with some Novel variety) regarded not so much the Hideousnesse thereof; I thought fit to guard their stricter and frightfuller reinspection, by Prefixing your Honourable Name as an*

*Antidote*

*Antidote and Amulet against the Poysonous Effluxes of this* BASILISK: *Though it might be alledged as a proper defence to the following Treatise, that the Divine Wisdome in Dividing and Infatuating, and its Justice and Vengeance in pursuing him and his Complices and Relations, have left no place for future Imitation.*

*However, Your great and Loyal Services to the Crown, opposed to this grand Agent of the Rebellion, will lessen the envy of this Account of him: which may your Lordship be pleased to Own, if from the force of no other* Complement *than this, that Sir* Oliver Cromwell, *a right Noble and most Loyall person, was this our* Cromwell's *GODFATHER. From many Respects I am*

Your Lordships most humble
and Devoted Servant

JAMES HEATH.

# To the Reader.

THere have been ſo many Vulgar Errours concerning this Perſon, and ſuch miſtakes of his Faculties and Natural Endowments, ſome being prone to Indulge Humanity, others to Ballance his great ſucceſſes with his evil Deſigns, and the reſt to abhominate all; that I thought it worthy the preſent time while thoſe ſad things we have ſuffered are yet recent in memory, and no lye dare be given to the Sun by any offuſcation of Truth, to purſue his Life with this Memorial.

The World is not ignorant of Him, and yet thoſe few that truely love Him, that is, Diſturbances and Troubles, have great thoughts of Heart, as they phraſe it concerning Him; all the different Sects and Schiſms which He kept in perpetual ſeparation and miſunderſtanding, now run into a coalition;

*and like* Divided *parcels of dying* Vipers, ſpraul *towards a* Union *with this their* Head.

*But they will here find that* poyſon *of* Aſps *under his Lips, which as the* Naturaliſts *tell us, will* evenome *even thoſe of the* Species *that come neer it, when it is caſt upon the* ground. *No man either of Reaſon or Sobriety of that party, can deny, but he was ſuck'd in by that* Peſtilent Air *of his pious pretences, and therefore they will I hope accept of this* Antidote *for the future in good part.*

Magnæ virtutes nec minora vitia, *great Vertues and no leſſe Vices have been* adapted *to moſt of the great men in the World, whoſe Intereſt held the* Scale, *for this was ſtill the* Impreſſe *of juſt and rightful* Monarchs, *whom* Poſterity dare ſay no Worſe of, becauſe no Better. *But Tyrannies, and the enormous exceſſes thereof, leave no ſuch* exchange *or* Ballance *of their* Crimes, *nor can their* Policies, Crattineſſe, *and* Pretences commute *with Prudence, Honeſty, or Juſtice.*

*There hath been indeed an ingenious Eſſay to commend* Richard *the Third, and to extol him as an* Excellent Prince, *and this not from*

*from any other* Authority *but his* Heroick *and* Famous actions *in the forreign and Civil Wars of thoſe times: and if this* Hector *be meaſured by the ſame* Standard, *in* length *onely and not in* Breadth; *by the* Martial Feats *of his* Uſurpation, *he will make a better Subject for ſuch a* Pen 200. *years hence, then* Fate *for ſome* 100 *of years, hath* troubled *the world with.*

*But when the world ſhall ſee that thoſe* Felicities *of his Sword and Brain were derived from, and* accountable *ſolely to the juſt* Judgment *of God, who gave us up a deſerved prey to the* Spoiler; *and that there was nothing* Extraordinary *in him but in the* Sins *and* vengeance *of the Times, he being the* Scourge *of our* Iniquity, *they will convert* their admiration *into a* reverence *of that* Supreme *overruling* power.

*It is a common but moſt obſervable Sentence of my Lord Chancellours, that* the Malicious influence of ſome Planets had cauſed this Horrible Defection and Feud among us: *ſome ages more then other are* infeſted *with* Trouble-worlds, *Ours eſpecially, for there have more* Revolts, Defections, *and* Seceſſes *been made in* Europe, *then for many*

Centuries *before*; *not to mention the like commotions, in the neareſt and fartheſt parts of* Aſia, *the* Turkiſh *and the* Chineſe *Empires.*

*In* Europe, *I place and reckon this* Cromwell *as a Medium or Mean, betwixt two almoſt his* Cotemporaries, Wallenſtein *Duke of* Friedland *the Emperors* General, *who from an obſcure and waſted Barony roſe to that Dignity, and thence aſpired to the* Imperial Diadem, *but periſhed in the attempt; and* Thomas Anelio *the* famous Fiſherman *of* Naples, *who dyed in the* frantick poſſeſſion *of the power he had ſo* wonderfully *attained to: for by a* mixt adjument *of Tumults, and Arms, and the* Command *upon the Rabble, and a* mutinous diſloyal Militia, *did* Cromwell *uſurp the Soveraignty, though he had the* fortune (*or we rather the* Happineſs) to dye in his Bed, *after the* fruition *of his envied Greatneſſe.*

Tyrants *are like* plagues *and are well termed* Peſtes Humani Generis, *they do not* raign *or* rage *always in all* Climes *and* Countries, *but come like other wonders into the world; the variety whereof do for the preſent* ſtupifie *and* afflict *the World, and then leave*

*matter*

*matter of* enquiry *and* discourse, *to* assist *against the* suddennesse *and* some other shaped *violence* (for seldome do they come in the same form) *of* another rupture *and* rebellion *against* Nature.

*There was something* different *in this mans* Tyranny *from all former* precedents, *as there were stronger and stranger* Corruptions *of* manners *in the* Times *He lived, so that he seemed to be accommodated to them. Never were there such wild* speculations, *such* dotages *and* caprichio's *in point of* Religion, *which made half the Nation mad, and* run *with* zeal *to the* ruin *of their* Country; *Now the* destructiveneſſe *of these* Chymera's *and* Whimsies *of Piety, that* austere Sanctimony *under which we* laboured, *could never better be* discovered, *then by the* divine permission *of this mans* arrival *and* ascent *to the Supreme power, thereby giving the world a* Specimen *of the* deep mischief *of pretended and morose* Holyneſſe.

*This is the* design *of this* Biography *of* Oliver Cromwell, *who hath been excellently* shadowed *in the* lineaments *of* Agathocles *the* Syracusan *Tyrant, but here he is drawn in his proper and full proportions; There are it*

*must be confeſſed ſome paſſages herein* coinci-dent *with the Hiſtories of the Times which are borrowed thence, but generally there is very little which is not* Novel *altogether, and with which very few perſons have been acquainted, as it is preſumed, will appear to the Readers Satisfaction, who is deſired candidly to excuſe the tenuity of the* Stile, *in ſo* ample *and ſo* Maſculine *a Subject, conſidering it is an Epitome and Abridgement, and to paſſe by or correct the Errata in the Printing.*

Vale.

# *The Life and Death*

## OF

# OLIVER CROMWEL

## THE

## *Late* USURPER, *&c.*

FATE, when it had decreed and ordain'd the unhappy birth of this *Famoſo*, by her moſt ſecret and hidden malice brought him into the world without any terrible remark of his portentuous Life, neither Comets, nor earthquakes nor ſuch like Violences of nature, uſhering or accompanying Him, to the declaring and pointing out, that the Scourge of the *Engliſh* Empire and Nation was now born; as ſhe did by indiſcernible methods train him up to the poſſeſſion of the Throne, and as ſecretly and cunningly after all his bloody and moſt nefarious actions ſhift him out of it, and with a blaſt of her ſpent Fury, turned him into his wiſh'd for Grave.

Nor

Nor did she midwife him into this light, which he so horribly polluted by any unusual preternatural or monstrous way, not with Teeth or Heels forward, or long hair, not with any marks upon his Flesh, as is storied of *Julius Cæsar*, our *Richard* the Third, and others; nor were there any presagious dreams or fearful divinations of his Mother when she was impregnate with him, as is mentioned of several, who have proved like him to be the destruction and common Enemies of Mankind.

None of all these Signs revealed or discovered the abstruse, and most reserved deep and mysterious Fortune of this person; The subtleties, Arts, and Policies of his destiny, potently and irresistibly conspiring with his as close Treasons and dissembled treacheries to the ruin and overthrow of this Church and State, singly and insensibly accomplished by the mean and unobserved Hand of this bold and perjurious politique.

All therefore that to this purpose is noted of him is this, that he was born the last year of that wonderful Century of 1500. to begin the next with his fatal Marvails, just before the union of the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, by K. *James*; as if it were congenial to Crowns, as to other lesser accessions of Felicity in private persons, to have at the same instant a temperament and alloy to their lustre and greatnesse; that as fortunes right hand presented a Scepter, so her left hand was ready with a Scourge to wreak her Envy upon the glory and grandeur of that renowned succession to, and accruement of, Dominion.

Every

Every thing hath its good and evil Angel to attend or haunt it, and that grand and happy revolution was to be afflicted and perſecuted by this Fury to an almoſt diſſolution of its well compoſed, united, and eſtabliſhed Frame.

He was born and deſcended of a very ancient knightly Family of his name in the County of *Huntingdon*, where for many ages they have had a very large and plentiful patrimony: it will ſuffice therefore to deduce him from no further originals then Sir *Henry Cromwel*, his Grandfather, a Gentleman highly honoured and beloved both in Court and Country, who had iſſue Sir *Oliver* his eldeſt Son, *Henry*, *Robert*, *Richard*, and Sir *Philip* the youngeſt, (whoſe Son upon Suſpicion of poyſoning his Maſter a Lawyer, was accuſed thereupon and convicted, and hanged ſome 35. years agoe.) This our *Oliver Cromwell* was Son of Mr. *Rob. Cromwel* the 3d. Son of Sir *Henry*, a Gentleman who went no leſſe in eſteem and reputation then any of his Anceſtors, for his perſonal worth, till his unfortunate production of this his Son and Heir, whom he had by his Wife *Elizabeth Steward* the Neice of Sir *Robert Steward*, a Gentleman of a competent Fortune in that County, but of ſuch a maligne effect on the Courſe of this his Nephews Life, as hereafter ſhall be declared, that if all the Lands he gave him, (as ſome were Fenny Ground) had been irrecoverably loſt and deluged, by any accident or diſaſter whatſoever, it might have paſt for a moſt propitious providential prevention of that dire miſchief and miſeries that Eſtate occaſioned.

He

He was born *April* the 25. in *St. Johns* Parish in the Town of *Huntingdon*, and was Christned in that Church the 29. of the same Month *Anno Domini* 1599. where Sir *Oliver Cromwell* his Uncle gave him his name, being received into the bosome of the Church by her Rites and Ceremonies, both which he afterwards rent and tore, and ungraciously and impiously annulled and renounced.

From his Infancy to his Childhood he was of a crosse and peevish disposition, which being humoured by the fondnesse of his Mother, made that rough and intractable temper more robust and outragious in his juvenile years, and adult and Masterlesse at Mans-estate.

No sooner therefore had he obtained the use of his Tongue, but his Father carefull of his Education, sent him to School to learn the Elements of Language and principals of Religion, both which he studied with the same indifference, and *inside* and fallacious endevour, as afterwards appeared by his never speaking what he thought, nor believing what he heard or was instructed in; so that his main policy was a radical and original Hypocrisie, which growing up with him, could not but be at last after so many years of Experience most exquisitely perfected.

From this A. B. C. Discipline and the slighted Covernance of a Mistris, his Father removed him to the Tuition of Dr. *Beard* Schoolmaster of the Free-School of that Town, where his Book began to persecute him, and Learning to Commence his great and irreconcileable Enemy; for his Master honest-

honestly and severely observing that and other his Faults (which like Weeds, sprung out of his rank and uncultivable nature) did by Correction hope to better his manners; and with a diligent Hand and carefull Eye to hinder the thick growth of those Vices which were so predominant and visible in him; yet though herein he trespassed upon that respect and lenity due and usual to Children of his Birth and quality; he prevailed nothing against his obstinate and perverse inclination. The Learning and Civility he had, coming upon him like fits of *Enthusiasme*, now a hard Student for a week or two, and then a Truant or *Otioso* for twice as many months; *Nunquam sibi constans*, Of no setled constancy; the very tenour and mode of his future Life till his grand attainment.

Among the rest of those ill qualities which *fructua ed* in him at this age, He was very notorious for *robbing of Orchards*; a *puerile* crime and an ordinary trespasse, but grown so scandalous and injurious by the frequent spoyls and damages of Trees, breaking of Hedges and Inclosures, committed by this *Apple-Dragon*, that many solemn Complaints were made both to his Father and Master for redresse thereof; which missed not their satisfaction and expiation out of his hide, on which so much pains were lost, that, that very offence *ripened* in him afterwards to the throwing down of all boundaries of Law or Conscience, and the stealing and tasting of the *forbidden fruit* of *Soveraignity*, by which as the Serpent told him, *He should be like unto a God*.

From

From this, he passed unto another more manly theft, the robbing of Dove-houses, stealing the young Pidgeons, and eating and merchandizing of them, and that so publiquely, that he became dreadfully suspect to all the adjacent Country; and this was an unhappy allusory *Omen* of his after Actions, when he Robb'd the King his Soveraign of his Innocence and Vertues, and prostituted them to the People and Souldiery, and made the World about him afraid of his Villanies.

'Twas at this time of his Adolescency, that he Dreamed, or a Familiar rather instincted him and put it into his Head, that He should be King of *England*; for it cannot be conceived, that now there should be any such near resemblance of truth in Dreams and Divinations (besides the Confidence, with which he repeated it, and the difficulty to make him forget the Arrogant Conceit and opinionated pride he had of himself, doth seem to evince, it was some impulse of a Spirit) since they have ceased long agoe. However the Vision came, most certain it is, that his Father was exceedingly troubled at it; and having angerly rebuked him for the Vanity, Idleness, and Impudence thereof; and seeing him yet persist in the same presumption caused Dr. *Beard* to Whip him for it, which was done to no more purpose then the rest of his Chastisements, his Scholar growing insolent and uncorrigible from those results and swasions within him, to which all other dictates and Instructions were useless, and as a dead letter.

Now to confirm this Royal humour the more in his

his ambitious and vain-glorious brain, it happened (as it was then generally the Custome in all great Free-Schools) that a Play called *The five Senses*, was to be Acted by the Scholars of this School, and *Oliver Cromwel*, as a Confident Youth, was named to act the part of *Tactus* the sense of *Feeling*; in the personation of which as he came out of the Tyring room upon the Stage, his head encircled with a Chaplet of Lawrel, he stumbled at a Crown, purposely laid there, which stooping down he took up, and Crowned himself therewithall, adding beyond his Cue, some Majestical mighty words; and with this passage also the Event of his Life held good analogy and proportion, when he changed the Lawrell of his Victories (in the late unnatural War) to all the Power, Authority, and Splendor that can be imagined within the Compasse of a Crown.

Nevertheless the Relation of a Father, and one so stern and strict an Examiner of him, (he being in his own nature of a difficult disposition, and great spirit, and one that would have due distances observed towards him from all persons, which begat him reverence from the Countrey-people) kept him in some awe and subjection, till his translation to *Cambridge*, where he was placed in *Sydney* Colledge, more to satisfie his Fathers curiosity and desire, than out of any hopes of Completing him in his Studies, which never reached any good knowledge of the Latine Tongue.

During his short residence here, where he was more Famous for his Exercises in the Feilds than in

in the Schools,(in which he never had the honour of, becauſe no worth and merit to, a degree) being one of the chief Match-makers and Players at Foot-ball, Cudgels, or any other boyſterous ſport or game; His Father Mr. *Robert Cromwell* died, leaving him to the ſcope of his own inordinate and irregular will, ſwayed by the bent of very violent and ſtrong paſſions.

There is little to be ſaid more of his Father, that is requiſite to his Sons Story, further than this, that whereas 'tis reported *Oliver* kept a Brew-houſe, that is a miſtake; for, the Brew-houſe was kept in his Fathers time, and managed by his Mother and his Fathers Servants, without any concernment of either of theſe therein, the Accompts being alwayes given to the Miſtreſſe, who after her Husbands death did continue in the ſame Employment and Calling of a Brewer, and thought it no diſparagement to ſuſtain the Eſtate and Port of a younger Brother as Mr. *Robert Cromwell* was, by thoſe lawful means; however, not ſo reputable as other gains and Trades are accounted.

It was not long after his Death, e're *Oliver* weary of the Muſes, & that ſtrict courſe of Life, (though he gave latitude enough to it in his wilde ſalleys and flyings out) abandoned the Univerſity and returned Home, ſaluted with the Name of young Mr. *Cromwell*, now in the room and place of his Father; which how he became, his uncontrolled debaucheries did publiquely declare, for Drinking, Wenching, and the like outrages of licentious youth, none ſo infam'd as this young *Tarquin*, who would not be contraried in his

his Lusts, in the very strain and to the excesse of that Regal Reviſher.

These pranks made his Mother adviſe with her ſelf and his friends what ſhe ſhould do with him, to remove the Scandal which had been caſt upon the Family by his means; and therefore it was concluded to ſend him to one of the Inns of Court, under pretence of his ſtudying the Laws, where among the maſſe of people in *London*, and frequency of Vices of all ſorts, his might paſſe in the throng, without that particular neer reflection upon his relations, and at worſt the infamy ſhould ſtick onely on himſelf.

*Lincolns-Inne* was the place pitch'd upon, and thither Mr. *Crommel* in a ſutable Garb to his fortunes was ſent, where but for a very little while he continued, for the nature of the place and the Studies there, were ſo far regretful beyond all his tedious Apprentiſhip to the more facile Academick Sciences, (by reaſon Laws were the bar and obſtacle of his impetuous reſolutions and the quite contrary to his looſe and libertine ſpirit) that he had a kind of antipathy to his Company and Converſe there; and ſo ſpent his time in an inward ſpight, which for that ſpace ſuperſeded the enormous extravagancy of his former vitiouſneſſe. His Vices having a certain kind of intermiſſion, ſucceſſion, or tranſmigration, like a compleat revolution of wickedneſſe into one another, So that few of his Feats were practiſced here, and it is ſome kind of good luck for that honourable Society that he hath left ſo ſmall and ſo innocent a Memorial of his Membership therein.

His next traverſe was back again into the country to his Mother, and there he fell to his old trade, and frequented his old haunts, conſumed his mony in tipling, and then ran on ſcore *per force*: in his drink he uſed to be ſo quarrelſome as (few unleſſe as mad as himſelf) durſt keep him company; his chief weapon in which he delighted and at which he fought ſeveral times with *Tinkers*, *Pedlers*, and the like, (who moſt an end go armed therewith) was a Quarter-ſtaff; in which he was ſo skilful, that ſeldome did any overmatch him. A boyſterous diſcipline and *Rudiment* of his martial skill and valour, which with ſo much fierceneſſe he manifeſted afterward in the enſuing War.

Theſe and the like ſtrange, wild, and diſhoneſt actions, made him every where a ſhame or a terrour, inſomuch that the Ale-wives of *Huntingdon* & other places, when they ſaw him a coming would uſe to cry out to one another, *Here comes young Cromwell, ſhut up your Doors*: for he made it no *Punctilio* to invite his Royſters to a Barrel of Drink, and give it them at the charge of his Hoſt, and in ſatisfaction thereof either beat him, or break his Windows, if he offered any ſhew, or gave any look or Sign of refuſal or diſcontent.

His Luſtfull wantonneſſes were not leſſe predominant than the other unruly appetites of his mind, that there might no vice be wanting to make his Life a *Syſteme* of iniquity; the publique, open and more ingenuous *vileneſſes* of his Youth, becoming the ſeveral dangerous and cruell *Villanies* of his Old Age, it being now his rude cuſtome, to ſeize upon

upon all Women he met in his way on the road, and perforce raviſh a kiſs, or ſome lewder ſatisfaction from them; and if any reſiſtance were made by their Company, then to vindicate and allay this violence and heat of his blood, with the letting out of theirs, whoſe defence of their Friends Honour, and Chaſtity, innocently ingaged them. And the ſame riots was he guilty of againſt any who would not give him the way; ſo that he was a *Rebell* in Manners, long before he was a *Belial* in Policy.

I am loth to be too large in ſuch particulars, which may render me ſuſpect of belying him, out of prejudice or revenge; but I have heard it confirmed ſo often from knowing perſons, and the ſtories made uſe of by his party who did thereby magnify his Converſion, making him thus dear and precious unto God, that I was obliged to mention them, partly as due to this Memoir of him, which pretends to an exact Biography, as well in the minute and ſmall beginnings, as in the grand and moſt important Even's of his Life; and partly to ſet him as a remarque againſt all Satanical deluſions of Inſtantaneous Sanctity, with which yet at this very day the World is bewitched, though they have ſeen in him the Tragical, even Diabolical effects of his Religious Auſterity.

Onely one thing I may not omit: by theſe lew'd actions he had ſo alienes the affections of his Uncle and Godfather Sir *Oliver Cromwell*, that he could not endure the ſight of him, having in his own preſence in the great Hall of his Houſe, where he magnificently treated King *James*, at his aſſumption to

the Crown of *England*, in a *Chriſtmas* time, (which was alwayes highly obſerved by him by Feaſting, and keeping open houſe) played this unhandſome and unſeemly trick or frolick; with the Relation of which the Reader will be pleaſed to indulge me, becauſe I have ſeen it r'acounted by a Worthy and Learned hand.

It was Sir *Oliver's* Cuſtome in that Feſtival, to entertain in his Houſe a Maſter of Miſ-rule or the Revels, to make mirth for the Gueſts, and to direct the Dances and the Muſick, and generally all manner of Sport and Gambols; this fellow, Mr. *Cromwell* having beſmeared his own Clothes and hands with Surreverence, accoſts in the midſt of a friſking Dance, and ſo grimed him upon every turn, that ſuch a ſtink was raiſed, that the Spectators could hardly endure the Room, whereupon the ſaid Maſter of Miſ-rule perceiving the matter cauſed him to be laid hold on, and by his Command to be thrown into a Pond adjoyning to the Houſe, and there to be ſous'd over head and ears, and rinced of that filth and pollution ſticking to him, which was accordingly executed, Sir *Oliver* ſuffering his Nephew to undergo the puniſhment of his unmannerly folly.

By this time and by theſe wayes, *Oliver* had run himſelf out of that little Patrimony he had, and brought his Mother to the ſame near ruine, when taking a ſad proſpect from the brink of this deſtruction, of his preſent deſperate condition, a giddy inſpiration ſeized him, and all of a ſudden ſo ſeemed to change and invert him, that he now became

the

the wonder, who just before was the hissing and scorn of all people. And that this Conversion might seem true and real, he manifested it with the Publican first in the Temple, (the Church,) which he devoutly and constantly frequented, affecting the Companies and Discourses of Orthodox Divines, no way given to that Schisme of *Non-Conformity*, into which *Oliver* soon after fell, not out of *Seduction* and Ignorance, but *Sedition*, and Malice, and Treasonable design.

But this appearance of such a Reformation in him (as he no doubt forecast it) did effectually conduce to his present purpose; for these Reverend Divines, glad of the return of this Prodigal, made it their businesse to have him received and welcomed with the Fatned Calf, to remove the prejudices that lie upon the narrownesse of Christianity; and therefore severally and joyntly they deal with Sir *Robert Steward* his Uncle (for Sir *Oliver* would by no means hear of him, as being assured and confirmed against him out of some good hints certainly of his own observation) to take him into his favour, and did at last prevail so upon him, that he declared him his Heir, and dying soon after, left him an Estate of Four or five hundred pounds a year; which being got and obtained by so impious a practise, a kind of inverted *Symony*, to purchase Lands by Counterfeit Gifts and Graces, could not escape the canker of Sacriledge; but in few years mouldred away piece-meal, nothing at all remaining thereof but a Thatcht House, with some Lands of Forty or fifty pounds a year, in a Town called

*Wells*, within four miles of *Wisbich* in the Isle of *Ely*.

In the *Interval* of this Estate, having served himself of those Venerable Divines, he fell in with some of the preciser sort; began to shew himself at Lectures, to entertain such Preachers at his house, to Countenance that Way, and be very Zealous in all meetings of such People, which then began to be frequent and numerous; and to Exercise with them by Praying and the like; to estrange himself from those his benefactors; and at last to appear a publique Dissenter from the Discipline of the Church of *England*. He had Matched a little before upon the account of this Estate in Reversion, with a Kinswoman of Mr. *Hambdens*, and Mr. *Goodwins* of *Buckingham-shire*, by Name *Elizabeth*, Daughter of one Sir *James Bowcher*, whom he trained up and made the waiting Woman of his Providences, and Lady-rampant of his successful greatnesse, which she personated afterwards as Imperiously as himself; so did the *Incubus* of his Bed make her partaker too in the pleasures of the *Throne*. These Men eminent for Puritanisme together with their Preachers set him up as the prime man of his County, for Religion, Integrity, and true Godlinesse.

But his Estate still decaying, he betook himself at last to a Farm, being parcel of the Royalty of *St. Ives*, where he intended to Husband it, and try what could be done by endevour, since nothing (as yet) succeeded by Design, & accordingly took Servants, and bought him all Utensils and Materials as Ploughs, Carts,

Carts, &c. and the better to prosper his own and his Mens Labour, every Morning before they turned out, the Family was called together to Prayers, at which exercise very often, they continued so long, that it was Nine of the Clock in the morning before they began their work; which awkward beginning of their Labour sorted with a very sorry Issue; for the effect of those Prayers was, that the Hinds and Plowmen seeing this zeal of their Master, which dispensed with the profitable and most Commodious part of the Day for their labour, thought they might borrow the other part for their pleasure, and therefore commonly they went to Plough with a pack of Cards in their pockets, and having turned up two or three Furrows, set themselves down to game till dinner time; when they returned to the second part of their Devotion, and measured out a good part of the afternoon with Dinner and a repetition of some Market Lecture that had been Preached the day before; and that little work that was done, was done so negligently and by halves, that scarce half a Crop ever reared it self upon his Grounds, so that he was (after five years time) glad to abandon it and get a friend of his to be the Tenant for the remainder of his time.

During his continuance here, he was grown (that is pretended to be) so just, and of so scrupulous a Conscience, that having some years before won 300 pounds of one Mr. *Calton* at play, meeting him accidentally, he desired him to come home with him and to receive his money, telling him that he had got it by indirect and unlawful means, and that he would

would be a ſin in him to detain it any longer; and did really pay the Gentleman the ſaid thirty pounds back again.

Now was he therefore thinking of tranſporting himſelf and his Family into *New-England*, a receptacle of the *Puritan* who flocked thither amain, for Liberty of Conſcience: But he indeed, for that his purſe and credit were ſo exhauſted that he could no longer ſtay here, which reſolution he had taken up before the Eſtate of his Uncle fell to him, and was put aſide it, by the amplitude of that Fortune to maintain him here: With this Eſtate of his Uncle *Stewards*, being again ſet up in the World, and aſſiſted with his borrowed ſtock of Sanctity, he was look'd upon as a riſing perſon, the Voyage for *New England*, (the deſperate Councel of his neceſſity) abandoned, & the port and ſtate of his Family reſum'd to ſuch a conſpicuous Grandeur, that rendred him a Candidate for the enſuing Parliament, & ſupplied him before with the Ability of diſburſing 500*l.* upon account of *Iriſh* Adventures towards the ſetling a Plantation in *Ulſter*, in that Kingdome. Yet was this the very laſt remains of that acceſſional Inheritance, he being forced to borrow in Town here very precariouſly and by the mediation of friends, (though for no greater ſum then) Ten pounds, (nay formerly ten ſhillings were acceptable) at ſeverall times which he received with this inducing Expreſſion; That though ſometime he had made no conſcience of repaying any money, yet he would punctually now keep his word, which indeed he did juſtly obſerve; and this an eminent Citizen his Friend

and

and School-fellow hath often declared. The laſt ſum he borrowed being very anxiouſly beſought and intreated, as riſing to a 100 *l.* which upon his growing Greatneſſe was pleaſured him, and moſt abuſefully imployed in hyring Wagons for the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Army, then advancing againſt the King. To this conſtant and inſuperable indigency and ebbe of Fortune was he kept and decreed to the brink of our Troubles, that his ruines & private miſery might the more induſtriouſly force him to the reparation of them, by the publick calamities; and then carry him to the mixt Affluence & Exceſſes of wealth & ſtate-Uſurpation.

Nor did he omit any other duty or civility, or Office of love to any, eſpecially to thoſe of the Houſhold, as they then termed the people of the Separation; inſomuch that he had ſcrued himſelf into the affections of a great many well-meaning people, whoſe ſuffrages he obtained againſt his uſe for them in the long Parliament.

He was a great ſtickler likewiſe againſt ſhip-money, in which danger his great friend and Patron Mr. *Hambden* was ſo far embarqued: nor was he better affected to the *Scotch* War, then growing on, as he to his hazard diſcovered himſelf to ſome Chief Commanders of the *Engliſh* Army, who in their march againſt the *Scots*, quartered at his houſe; which Diſcourſes drawing ſuſpicion upon him made him the more popular in thoſe parts who were generally infected with Puritaniſme.

About

About the same time one Mr. *Bernards* coming to be Recorder of the Town of *Huntingdon*, some difference about precedency of place happened between them, (*Oliver's* Spirit being too high to yeild to any person in that Town, where his Family had continued of the best rank some years together) and therefore to avoid the Cession of his Honour to another, he withdrew himself thence just before the summoning of the Long Parliament, & took a dwelling in *Cambridge*, where upon the Election of Burgesses, by the procurement and means of Mr. *Hamblden*, he was chosen Burgesse for that place, and so returned.

Having now attained his desire and aims, which was to help to blow up those Coals of dissention and rage, which had kindled in the breast of his male-content party so long, & now were like to have free vent to the setting the kingdomes into a Conflagration; like a right Incendiary, where he found any grievance complained of, he would make himself a party concerned in it; Enquire into the number and strength of the Faction that managed the Complaint, proffer his and his friends assistance, encourage them to claim or against the male-administration, and generally set a foot those mischievous petitions, which were brought thick and threefold to the Parliament, till his Faction had so exasperated the King against them, that there seemed no possibility of reconciling them, making even all the Kings most earnest endeavours for an accommodation, arguments of refusing it. And though at first he was none of the principal of the Cabal, being taken in

and

and tutor'd by Mr. *Pym* and *Hambden*, (as finding him of a bold & undertaking Spirit of what miſchief ſoever was propounded to him) yet was he notably and highly inſtrumental and ſubſervient to the Conſpiracy, and at laſt aroſe to ſuch a knowledge and capacity of the myſtery, that he ſcorn'd their puny rudiments, when with a deeper *Atheiſme* he ſet up for himſelf.

The determinate time was now come for which the cabal of the *Puritan* had ſo long laboured, and that none of thoſe things which had been ſo direfully Propheſied of their Schiſme (if it ever ſhould attain any power or prevalency) might *want*, or rather not exceed belief; The whole Kingdome of a ſuddain, as if ſome Magical Charm had transform'd the State and ſhape of it, ſeemed rather a Scene of boſcage of Wild and brutall Creatures, than a Gentil vernedor civil Community. But becauſe this particular hath been ſo largely treated off and is yet freſh in memory and will hardly ever be forgotten, It will not be much material to urge it further, unleſs to the maintenance of this Maxime; That the Uproars and Rebellions of Subjects upon what pretence ſoever, do alwayes end in the greateſt Tyrannies and turn to their moſt unſufferable and ignominious miſeries, and that their Darling *Demagogues*, whom with applauſes and Acms they have ſhouldred up, and have reared and exalted above the reach of the Law, make it no nicety afterwards to trample upon the Necks of their raiſers; and to ſwim in their Blood, which itching ſwell'd their ambition to the Throne.

Nor

Nor did the *Volge* know when, or could their *Bouteſeus* tell where to ceaſe, what Iſſue would happen of theſe their troubles; Raſh and blind Furies that made way to the unobſerved advancement of this private Male-content, who like *Marius* from his lurking holes in the Fens of *Minturna* after the defeat of his fortunes, crept into the Supreme Power, and died his purple with a more indelible tincture of Noble and *Plebejan* blood.

The Jealouſies and Fears and the like picques and quarrelling pretences of the Parliament proving hopeleſſe of reconcilement or accommodation by the artifices of a Faction, wherein Mr. *Pym*, *Hambden*; and other *Puiſnes* with *Cromwell*, mainly buſied themſelves: and the juſt Judgement of God giving us up, our Peace, Proſperity and Plenty to the Calamity of a moſt unnatural War; the long deſired occaſion and expectation of thoſe who had lodg'd their private hopes in the Common Ruine, did moſt gladſomely ſalute the Deſigns of *Oliver*, who having ſpent the utmoſt Farthing of his Eſtate, and ſecured from an Impriſonment by his priviledge as a Member, was one of the firſt of thoſe adventurous Knights that mounted the *Good Cauſe* behind them, and ſo took the Field, which now Ploughed with Swords and Spears, and watered with Blood, anſwered its long denyed increaſe, and from a luckleſs Peſant made him a fortunate Pedant Prince.

For *Enyo* no ſooner ſounded her Trumpets under the Earl of *Eſſex's* Banners then entitled *Generaliſſimo* for the King and Parliament, but *Cromwell*

*well* offered him his Service, and was thereupon honoured with a Commiſſion of Captain of Horſe, which to raiſe, he returned to his own County of *Huntingdon*, where among the Zealots he was never had in greater Eſtimation. He was alſo named a Commiſſioner in the Ordinance for the *Militia* for that and the neighbouring Shires then entering into an Aſſociation againſt the King, the Ground work and eminent endevour of this great Conſpirator, in purſuance of that rebellious Project of his party at *Weſtminſter*; following herein the practiſe of all Ringleaders, who do firſt collect rabbles, and engage and aſſure places of retreat and faſtneſſe to all Events, though herein he practiſed the more difficult and unprecedented combination of a people, for Wealth, and Sobriety, and Civility, and (for a great part moſt contrary to his Deſigns) little to be ſuſpected of taking part with him. But it ſo luckily evened to him, that by his lopping off, as it were, this Limb of the Kingdome, and depriving the King thereby of any aſſiſtance thence, and of the convenience of the Ports of thoſe Eaſtern Counties for any forraign ſupplies, one *Canton* of the Kingdome was as planet ſtruck in point of Allegiance, and not only a Member,

----*Mancum & inutile dextra*, Perſ.

but of a very ſiniſter conſequence to the Royal Cauſe, the Gangreen thereof ſpreading and diffuſing it ſelf through the whole Maſſe of the Nation, by feeding the Humourous rage of the War through the

the whole distemper thereof, till it finally consumed all; this being the abundant Magazine of Men and Horses for the Parliament Service.

This therefore was *Cromwell's* first Province or Superintendency, wherein he exercised the original Office of a Major General, when as yet he sounded no more then a Captain, being the chief Committee-man of the Association, making himself most notably eminent by his Activity and Zealous industry in promoting the Good Cause, and levying and listing of Forces, and Disciplining them, the skill whereof he had presently learned, from an exact observation of some veteran Commanders, *viz.* Collonel *Dolbier*, whom he had by great sums of advance money, and as extraordinary pay allured to his side.

The grosse of those Troops he raised here and sent from this Seminary to the Camp and School of Action, were such, whose dull Spirits were to be beaten into the knowledge of Arms, and like the *Turks Asapi* were on purpose sent thither to blunt the Weapons of the Kings generous Cavalry, and thereby to beget in them a relasch and contemptuous neglect, of so base and dispicable an Enemy: that such their secure confidence might conclude their ruine. He himself was all the while continued by especial Order of Parliament in this Employment like an *Independent* Commander to have an Eye upon any Attempts that might be made thereabouts, and as a *Purer* and preciser reserve to the mixed multitude, that then from the equall motives of pay and zealotry rusht into the War. And

And therefore *Oliver*, understanding how miserably the Cavalry fresh men of his party were worsted at every Encounter, and well knowing the nature of the Quarrell; (which was pretended for Religion) resolved and advised, that there were no Men so likely to oppose the conquering Gallantry of those Gentlemen on the Kings Side, then such who were or should be engaged upon account of Conscience and Zeal, which would Spirit them with the same magnanimous Fortitude, and make them also to endure the difficulties and hardships of the War, with a more pertinacious Constancy, as having bodies better able, and minds more finely sublimed upon that score *pro aris & focis* then the mixed and most Rascally Herd of loose and vicious people.

But yet prudently considering, that in so long an interval and vacancy of War, from which this Nation had been blessed, the most forwardst Hotspurs on the account of Zeal might quayle and shrink at the noise of the Battel, and their spiritual proud courage abate at the encounter, & never defie a Cavaleir again after one dismal alarum and fright of a discomfiture; He would first prove & try his Troopers how they could endure a sudden terrour, and by that grow hardy to the constancy of danger: (as Eagles certifie themselves of the genuine race of their young ones, by their experiencing how they can out-stare & brave the Sun, and initiate them with a bold and passive Fortitude, the Hardy Rudiments of their fighting predatory life;) for as he relyed on one hand upon their Religious Resolution and Spiritual

valour

valour, ſo did he not reject the Arm of Fleſh which ſhould actuate thoſe inward impulſes, & by a juſt temperament of both to a true metal, conduct & menage their ſober and well governed bravery to an aſſurance of Succeſſe and Victory; and ſuch whoſe hearts failed, he reſolved to diſmount them and give their Horſes to more courageous Riders. This he did by a *Stratagem* upon the firſt Muſter of his Troop; when having privily placed 12. reſolute men in an *ambuſcado*, (it being near ſome of the Kings Garriſons) upon a ſignal or the appointed time, & the ſaid Ambuſh with a Trumpet ſounding a charge, galloped furiouſly to the Body, out of which ſome 20. inſtantly fled out of fear and diſmay and were glad the forfeiture was ſo cheap & eaſy; and aſhamed of their childiſh & diſgraceful deſerting of their Station and Colours, had not the Confidence to requeſt their continuance in his ſervice, or deny or ſcruple the rendring their Horſes to them who ſhould fight the Lords Battel in their ſtead.

His next deſign upon the place was to make a convenient Garriſon thereabouts, which ſhould as well reſpect his forces ſecurity, as the annoyance of the Kings; & therefore he pitcht upon *Whittleſea*, where a Bridge joyns the County of *Norfolke* with the Iſle of *Ely*, no other paſſages from thence into *Lincolnſhire*, moſt whereof was Garriſon'd by the Royal Party; & by this means did he firſt prevent & cut off all intercourſe betwixt the Loyal Gentlemen of both; adviſed & aſſiſted herein by *Ireton*, who firſt came to his acquaintance in this place, and was afterwards famous for his nimble Seizure of ſome Gentlemen at *Burleigh-Houſe* neer *Grantham*. Againſt

Againſt the dangerous evil of this Aſſociation, the King directed His *Commiſſion of Array*, which was firſt put in execution in *Hartfordſhire*, by Sir *Henry Conisby* High Sheriff of that County, who proclaimed it at St. *Albans*, and intended to raiſe the County to the Kings Aſſiſtance, but by the vigilance of *Oliver Cromwell*, the Deſign was prevented; for by that time the Members at *Weſtminſter* had notice of Sir *Henry*'s Loyal endevour, *Cromwell* with a party of horſe had ſurprized and ſeized that party almoſt in the very inſtant of their appearance, and ſent Sir *Henry*, and ſome other prime Gentlemen engaged with him, Priſoners to *London*, to the great ſatisfaction and liking of the Parliament Grandees, who were at firſt aghaſt at an attempt made for the King ſo neer their own dores: and thereupon this their Commander was ordered the Thanks of the Houſe, and from thence forward look'd upon as an eminent perſon, and a Champion of the Cauſe, which now jeoparded it in the field, whence the towardly Settlement of theſe parts, with-held *Cromwell* in this Province, which like a parcel of the former Heptarchy he himſelf ruled and governed abſolutely and *pro imperio*.

His next piece of Service was of the like nature, and of the ſame evil Conſequence to the King. For divers Gentlemen of the County of *Suffolk* (another of the aſſociated Counties) reſenting this Curb upon their Allegiance, and ſawcy Edicts and Commands of the Committees, which were made up of the meaneſt of the Gentry, and Burgeſſes of the Towns, deſigned together to free themſelves

and their country from the yoak of these new Lords, the chief of these Gentlemen were Sir *John Pettus*, Sir *Edward Barker*, &c. who having in order to their Conjuncture, rendezvouzed at *Lowerstoft* in that County, were by the preventing diligence of *Cromwell* seized and secured, and thereby such a Break-neck given to any future Royal undertakings in those parts (the rendition of *Lyn Regis*, which then held for the King, soon after following this defeat and disappointment) that throughout the whole course of the War, there happened not any the least Commotion in favour of His Majesties Arms, either by supply, assistance, or diversion.

Things being thus quieted thereabouts and disposed to the interest of the *Junto*, there remained after the military part, a Scholastical labour for this Parliamentary *Hercules*, the zealous cleansing of the University of *Cambridge*, the Parent of this Viper, who just before his infectious production into the main Army; (whither he was now designed) did miserably *exenterate* her, leaving her a sad and doleful Skeleton, deprived of so many learned and religious persons, whose only Charge was, that they adhered to the Dictates of their Conscience, and the Obligation of those Oaths, which just Authority had enjoyned, against those novel and illegal Commands and Covenants, forcibly imposed and obtruded on them. In this destructive work, his module and method of ambition, *Cromwell* was mainly and cheifly active, as also against the Orthodox and Protestant Ministry, and their Churches, defacing all the Ornaments and Beauty thereof, leaving

ving them the ruinous Spectacle of his Reformation.

And from this Employment now finiſhed, he was Commiſſioned Lieutenant Ceneral to the Earl of *Mancheſter*, who had the ſeparate command in a diſtinct Supremacy of thoſe aſſociated Counties, and was deſigned to march Northwards with thoſe Forces and joyn with the *Scots* newly entred *England*, and the Lord *Fairfax* againſt the Marquiſs of *New-Caſtle*, who was General for the King in thoſe parts, and yet ballanced the Fortune of the War againſt that potent *Scotch* Invaſion; but upon the conjuncture and addition of the Earl of *Mancheſter's* freſh and well diſciplined and armed forces, the ſaid Marquiſs was conſtrained to quit the Field, and diſtribute his Army into the Garriſons, he himſelf ſhutting up the beſt part of it in the City of *York*, which the Confederates preſently beſieged. and made ſeveral venturous attempts, wherein *Cromwell* was none of the backwardeſt, though always repulſed with loſſe and conſiderable ſlaughter.

The importance of this place, and juncture of time, which either won or loſt the North to the King (who had newly had great ſucceſſe in the weſt by the defeating of the Earl of *Eſſex* at *Leſtithiell* in *Cornwall*) cauſed him to ſend away Prince *Rupert* as *Generaliſſimo*, with a very potent Army to raiſe that Siege, and fight the Enemy if he found occaſion. The Prince accordingly advanced, and upon his approach the Confederates drew off from their Leagure, affording the Garriſon liberty to joyn with their friends, when it was reſolved by

the Prince, without any delay to give Battel; though the Marquiss knowing what hazzard the Kings Intereſt and his own, and all the Loyal parties Eſtates would thereby be put to, did very much diſwade the ſuddenneſſe of the Encounter, which notwithſtanding enſued on the Evening of the ſame day *July* 2. on *Marſton-Moor* within three miles of *York*, and laſted till dark night.

Here in the beginning the *Scots* & my L. *Fairfaxes* forces were totally routed and perſued ſome miles out of the field, and the day given for loſt, when *Cromwell* with his aſſociated Horſe, moſt of them Curaſſiers in the left Wing, ſeeing this diſcomfiture, fell on with great reſolution and courage, and worſted the Prince rnd his Reſerves, and with the ſame fury fell upon the Marquiſſes foot, whoſe Regiment of *White-Coats*; and therefore called his Lambs, yet ſtood and could not be broken, till the field being almoſt cleared, the Parliaments Infantry came up, and theh both horſe and foot charged and broke them; *Cromwell* here made a very great ſlaughter and Carnage, eſpecially in the rout and purſuit, purpoſely to make his name terrible, this being his firſt and grand appearance, gaining here the Title of *Ironſides*, from the impenetrable ſtrength of his Troops, which could by no means be broken or divided. Being here at the firſt charge of the Cannon, endangered with a gracing ſhot, and feared by his men to be hurt therewith, He replied merrily, *A Miſs is as good as a Mile.*

The ſucceſſe of this day made him indeed highly famous, and his Lawrells moſt verdant and flouriſhing,

riſhing, the Victory being principally aſcribed to his courage and conduct. His Cunctation and temperate delay were highly magnified; and then his Reſolution in the deſperation of the Event extolled the firmneſs and conſtant equality of his mind, when intrepidly and fixedly he beheld the overthrow of the groſſe of their Army, and thereby animated his Troops to the more vigorous recovery of the day; now that the adverſe fury was ſpent in the chaſe of their Fellows the *Scots*, whom *Cromwell* ever afterwards though in Covenant with them, moſt diſdainfully deſpiſed, but not only for this reaſon.

The Credit of this Atchievement was induſtriouſly cryed up at *Weſtminſter*, and all the Grandezza's of Scripturall *Ovation* fitted and accommodated thereto; He himſelf with the ſame conquering Troops, as yet in the ſame quality under the Earl of *Manchester*, was remanded from the North to oppoſe the King, then returning victorious out of the Weſt; and becauſe the Earl of *Eſſex* had hitherto been unfortunate, therefore this lucky Cheiftain was added as his better Star, at the ſecond Battel of *Newbery*, within four Months after *Marſton Moor*; and here again the Fates favoured him, though not with a complete Victory, yet on that ſide where he fought with a part of one, and ſo much as endangered the perſon of the King, if the noble and ſtout Earl of *Cleveland* had not hazardouſly interpoſed, and bore off the purſuit.

This indifference of Fortune begot very great differences among the Parliament Commanders, one Taxing the other of Neglect, Treachery, or

Cowardize, and by what means it could come to paſſe that nothing was yet effected againſt the King, whom in the beginning of the War they had thought to have ſwallowed up preſently. Nor were the diviſions leſſe at home then in the camp, for now the younger Brother of the Rebellion, the Independent Faction began to appear; a preciſer and ſeverer ſort ſort of Zealots, who thought *Eſſex* and his Army not righteous enough, nor fit inſtruments, in whoſe hands the work of Reformation ſhould ever be bleſſed to an attainment, and that therefore it was fit the Army ſhould be purged of ſuch Officers, or the Cauſe would never proſper. To the ſame purpoſe *Oliver* was tampering with his *Myrmidons*, frequently bewailing the want of Faith and Grace in the heart of the Soldiery, which alone retarded the deſired Concluſion, that the great men of the Army minded themſelves more then God or his people, and that purpoſely they protracted the war, not ſparing to inſimulate his own General the Earl of *Mancheſter* of the ſame prevarications, aggravating the affront he received before *Dennington-Caſtle*, and ſome other later miſcarriages, which coming to the Ear of the ſaid Earl, who rightly gueſſed the ambitious Drift of his Lieut. General, He cauſed a Charge and impeachment to be drawn up againſt him for ſome miſdemeanors in the Army, as ſtirring up of Mutiny, *&c.* and delivered it to the Lords, to whoſe Bar *Cromwell* was ſummoned, but he refuſed their Juriſdiction, pleading his priviledge as a member of the Houſe of Commons, who alone had Cognizance of him: and to be even with the Earl recriminated

recriminated him in the ſame manner to the Houſe of Commons, but both theſe accuſations ſtuck upon the file without any proſecution on either ſide, either party as yet afraid of the other, and diſtruſtful of their plots, not having yet attained the abſolute power from the King, which was the only Subject of the Quarrel. So ſoon did theſe Twins of the Uſurpation ſtruggle in the wombe of their Ambition, and though *Presbytery* was midwifed firſt, yet *Independency* carryed away the Bleſſing, or rather the Curſe of their proſperous Violence.

For the *Independents* had inſinuated ſuch plauſible Expedients for the redreſſe of this evil Manage of the Army, and by their auſterer Piety (which *Oliver* moſt devoutly perſonated, being frequent in praying and preaching in his Quarters) had conciliated ſuch an eſteem of their Counſels, which were abſolute Intrigues to the contrary Faction, that a Reſolution was taken to module the Army, and appoint a new General; and in this Conſultation great part of the Winter 1644. was taken up: the reſt was ſpent in a ſeeming tendency to Peace, by a Treaty held at *Uxbridge*, which Affair concerned *Cromwell* no further then thus, that it ſhowed how eminent and great a man he was taken to be, being named in the Parliaments Demands and Propoſitions, for one of the ſtanding Commiſſioners, to whoſe truſt and exerciſe the *Militia* of the Kingdome (upon agreement) ſhould be committed.

While theſe and the like Articles were in vain debating, the proſecution of the War was effectually intended, and the new module ſo far advanced, that

that an Ordinance passed the two Houses, wherein it was forbidden any Member of either House to have any command in the Army or Garrisons, and the time limited to forty dayes from the publishing the said Ordinance. By this fair and impartial dealing (as they called it) the Earls of *Essex*, *Manchester*, *Stamford* and *Denbigh*; Sir *William Waller*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and others were laid aside, only Lieutenant Generall *Cromwell*, was respited for a while longer, because of his present usefullnesse in that unsettled Condition of the Army, and because he had been of an unexampled successe and Conduct: In the place of *Essex*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was made Generall, and he issued out Commissions to such whom the *Independents* favoured, most of the Supreme Officers being discarded, and entitled the Reformadoes, and left a begging their pay, and their Inferiour ones substituted in their places. Among the rest of these New blades, *Ireton* was raised to be Commissary Generall of the Horse, *Cromwell*'s second, who had newly married one of his Daughters, and was as neer in brain to him as in blood.

This continuance of *Cromwell* in his Command after all the other Members of Parliament were laid aside, at last upon the marching of the Army in the beginning of the Year 1645. styled him Lieutenant Generall; a little before which he had doctrinated his Regiment in the new mode of Addresses to the Parliament, and to the General, setting forth their acquiescences and gladnesse in this frame and module of the Army, and that they were ready

to

to lay down their lives in profecution of the good Cauſe ſo far advanced: and this Arche-type was ſoon after followed by every Regiment and Garriſon, whereunto none but the Creatures and Confidents of *Independency* were now admitted.

For from the firſt Head-quarters of this Army, *Cromwell* (having newly come out of the Weſt, and tendred his Service to the General if the Parliament ſhould think fit, but intimating his ſorrow that he feared he ſhould not have the Honour to wait upon him (when at the very inſtant came down another diſpenſation) was ſent with a flying party of Horſe (by his party's prevaleney in the Houſe for forty dayes longer) to intercept a Convoy of Horſe which was the Queens Regiment, the Earl of *Northampton's*, and Collonel *Palmer's*, with ſome other Troops coming to *Oxford* to bring off the King with his Train of Artillery; who made ſuch haſt, that at *Iſlip* Bridge he ſurprized and routed them, took four hundred Horſe and two hundred Priſoners with the Queens Standard, and continuing his good ſpeed having got intelligence of a Party of three hundred and fifty Foot under Sir *William Vaughan* who were marching towards *Radcot-Bridge*, he purſued them and took the ſaid Sir *William*, Lieutenant Collonel *Littleton*, and two hundred more Priſoners, and immediately ſummoned *Bletchingdon-Houſe* not far diſtant from the place, whither ſome Ladies were newly come to give a viſit to Coll. *Windebanks* (The Governour's) Bride, who being affrighted with the ſuddenneſſe of the danger, never left importuning the unfortunate Gentleman till he rendred

dred the Garriſon, though *Cromwell* for want of Foot, could never have forced him out, making uſe of this Stratagem by raiſing a Cry of, *Fall on Foot, fall on*: for this ſurrender, upon his coming to *Oxford*, by Sentence of a Council of War he was ſhot to death, leaving his Widdow to blaſt with her ſighs and tears, *Cromwell*'s Lawrels, who with this envious Triumph returned to his General. And this firſt happy Exploit done by him in the beginning of the Expedition, was taken and publiſhed for a good Omen of his future Service, and therefore the Prudence of the Parliament was much commended in continuing him in Command, who was ſo hopefull an Inſtrument of carrying on the remaning work through ſo many difficulties, which had ſo long, and yet ſeemed ſo inſuperably to impede it. Thus did his Faction and Partiſans prepare and ſublime him to his ſucceeding Enterpriſes and Deſignes after the expiration of the War.

To enhance this reputation and to ſecure his continuance in the Army, he next reſolved upon a gallanter, and more hazardous Attempt, the reducing of *Farringdon* houſe, which had been an impregnable and moſt advantagious Garriſon for the King, the Governour, was Sir *George Liſle*, a perſon of an invincible Spirit, and eminent throughout the War; to the better effect of this Deſign, he borrowed 600 foot of M. G. *Brown*, from *Abingdon*, and with them fell preſently to ſtorming, but was notably repulſed, loſing 50. men, without any ſucceſſe at all, and before he could get off was attaqued by a party of General *Gorings* Horſe, commanded

manded by himſelf then newly come out of the West from *Taunton* Seige, who being as vigilant and valourous a Commander as himſelf, gave *Cromwell* the firſt bruſh he received in the War, taking three Colours and Major *Bethel* priſoner, and ſo returned to his former Leagure at *Taunton*.

In the mean while, General *Fairfax* by Order of the Committee of both Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, who ordered the Conduct of the War, was advancing into the West for the relief of the ſaid Town of *Taunton*, and becauſe the King was yet at *Oxford* preparing to take the Feild, *Cromwel* was left behind in the ſame parts, where now he quartered with Major General *Brown* to attend the Kings motion, and to impede his Conjunctures with the Princes *Rupert* and *Maurice*, then comming with a Compleat Body of Horſe out of *Worceſterſhire*, but His Majeſty had equipped ſo gallant an Army, that *Cromwell* durſt not venture to fight him or retard his march any whither, ſo that *Fairfax* was preſently recalled and ordered to ſit down before *Oxford*, to reduce the King to the care of that place, and upon advantages to fight him; when News came that the King having joyned with the Princes, and relieved *Cheſter* beſieged by Sir *Will. Brereton*, was now returning and bending his March towards the Aſſociate Counties, the heart and untouch'd ſtrength of the Parliament Cauſe, and therefore *Cromwell* was immediately diſpatched into the Iſle of *Ely*, with three Troops, to ſecure that againſt any Invaſion, it being as the bulwark or Fortreſſe of the reſt. But the King diverting from

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that course, came and sate down before *Leicester*, and after summons stormed and took it, which put the Parliament into such a fright, that they commanded *Fairfax* to rise from *Oxford*, and presently find out the King and fight him, who was now (as he himself writ to the Queen) in a better and more succesful condition then any time since the War. This Order *Fairfax* (having never sent in a summons to the City, as fore judging he should rise without it disgracefully) readily obeyed, but withal requested them that they would forthwith dispatch away *Cromwell* from the Isle of *Ely*, to command the Horse, extolling his Experience and Successe in that Service.

Accordingly *Cromwell* reinforced and recruted with 600. Horse, of the Association, returned to the Army then marching to *Northampton*, where the General was informed that the King lay about *Daventry*, quartering his Foot and Carriages upon *Borough-hill*, as if he intended to fight upon that ground if they should advance, but he stayed till the 1200. Horse which he had sent to carry the Cattle he had taken out of *Leicester* and *Northamptonshire*, for the supply of *Oxford*, were returned, intending thence according to advice of his Conncel of War, to march to the relief of *Pomfret Castle* in the North, and to reduce those parts lost to him ever since *Marston Moor*, and so to draw on *Fairfax* after him, and fight him at advantage, which he could not do in these Counties, that were every where Garrison'd by the Parliament forces.

But this Resolution, the quicker Consultation and Opinion

Opinion of *Cromwell* ſoon diſappointed, for by his advice (now that their Army could expect no other Additions but Coll. *Roſſiter*, who was then alſo in a Dayes march of them, for Sir *John Gell* was joyned already) *Ireton* was preſently diſpatch'd with a Brigade of Horſe to obſerve the poſture of the Kings Army, and if they were upon their March Northwards, to skirmiſh them in the Rear, and keep them in Action till the whole body could come up and engage; *June* the 13. *Fairfax* came to *Gilsborough*, within five miles of *Borough-hill*, whence the Cavaliers, the 1200. Horſe being returned, were marching northwards: and the next night to the wonder and amazement of the King, *Ireton* gave an Alarum to His quarters at *Naſeby*, whence about 11. of the Clock the King diſlodged and haſtned to *Harborough*, where Prince *Rupert* and the Van of the Army was quartered; here a Council of War was preſently convened, and by the Kings fatal Opinion concluded, that becauſe there was danger of bringing off the Rear of his Army, the Enemy preſſing ſo near and hard upon them, that therefore they ſhould deſiſt from their March further Northwards, and immediately turn back upon the Enemy and give him Battle, relying chiefly upon the valour of the Infantry, now fluſht and encouraged with the Plunder and ſpoile of *Leiceſter*.

This was put in execution (though the major voyces were for ſtaying till General *Goring* with his forces were come up) and the Kings will obeyed. For very early in the morning the Scouts brought word

word that the King was making all haſte to the Engagement, being falſly informed that *Fairfax* in fear was retreating to *Northampton*, whereas he had now diſpoſed of *Naſeby* field, and awaited Him, having *Cromwell* with *Whalley* on his right wing, and *Ireton* on his left, the one oppoſed to my Lord *Langdale*, and the Northern Horſe, and the other to Prince *Rupert*, General of the Cavalry, the King himſelf being *Generaliſſimo*. To come to the Event, Prince *Rupert* totally routed *Ireton*, who being engaged and driven upon the Kings rightmoſt Foot, was there wounded in the Thigh with a Halbert, and taken Priſoner, and the Field on that hand cleared; which *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* obſerving, having not yet ſtirred from their ground, *Fairfax* with a ſhort Speech encouraged the Troops to the Charge; which was ſeconded with ſome devout ejaculations from *Cromwell*, who clapping Spurs to his Horſe fell in with *Langdale's* Brigade, and quite charged through three bodies and utterly broke them; nor did he ſtop till with fine force he had likewiſe beat that Wing from their ground, without poſſibility of rallying or recovering it again. In this Action a Commander of the Kings knowing *Cromwel*, advanced ſmartly from the Head of his Troops to exchange a Bullet ſingly with him, and was with the like gallantry encountered by him, both ſides forbearing to come in, till their Piſtols being diſcharged, the Cavalier with a ſlanting Back-blow of a broad-Sword, luckily cut the Ribond that tied his Murrion, and and with a draw threw it off his head, and now ready to repeat his ſtroke, his party came in and reſcued him,

him, and one of them alighting threw up his Head-piece into his Saddle, which *Oliver* haſtily catching, as being affrighted with the chance, clapt it the wrong way on his head, and ſo fought with it the reſt of the day, which proved moſt highly fortunate on his ſide, (though the King moſt magnanimouſly and expertly managed the fight, expoſing himſelf to the eminenteſt perils of the Feild) and raiſed him beyond the Arts and reach of Envy or his Enemies of the *Presbyterian* party, who had ſo long been heaving at him to out him of all Military employment, which concluding ſo pertinently and peremptorily for him in this grand Event, did charme the hatred malice and prejudice againſt him, into fear and dread what this arrogance of his fortune would finally aſpire to.

This Battell wholly overthrew the King, who was never after able to make Head againſt the Parliament forces, but peice-meal loſt his Armies Caſtles, and Towns; *Fairfax* taking in the remoter *Weſtern* Garriſons, while *Cromwell* was employed nearer to *London*, being ſure to have one eye to the Counſels of the Parliament, as well as the other intent againſt the King. Among the reſt of thoſe places taken by him, as *Wincheſter*, the *Devizes* and *Langford-houſe*; *Baſing-houſe*, that had defeated ſo many Seiges and ruined ſo many Leagures, was not able to withſtand the Fortune of this Victor, but humbled it ſelf to duſt and ruine at his firſt and terrible approch.

The War now almoſt expired, he began to ruminate on his former Dreams, and to adjuſt thoſe ſtrange

ſtrange revolutions and unexpected alterations of the times and the Government, to his former Fancy, in which he had ſo much affiance anew, that he became reſolutely confirmed, that all thoſe things were brought about meerly to fulfill that Oracle of his Imagination, *That he ſhould be King*. And therefore he thought it a juſt reverence to his Fate to neglect no advantages, occaſions and means which might conduce to the accompliſhment of its myſterie, and conciliate its conſtant affection and favour to him. One thing primarily requiſite, was the aſſiſtance of ſome confident Privado; and to this purpoſe he had before pitch'd upon Coll. *Ireton*, a man of a moſt profound and deep diſſimulation, and of a moſt clean conveyance of any miſchievous deſign, one very well learned, but who had converted it (as Toads do the beſt nutriment unto the moſt exquiſite poyſon) to barbarous and moſt Horrid Artifices of impiety and Treaſon; this man, *Cromwel* made ſure to him firſt by marriage, as aboveſaid, and now by a more mutual endearment, the partnerſhip of the Soveraignty, which they agreed to ſeize; and from henceforth they never ceaſed plotting and conſpiring, now colloguing with this party, then with that, and fomenting diviſions ſtill betwixt all, till with thoſe many ſtrange patches of Policy, *Cromwell* made himſelf a Protectoral Robe, with which he was not many years after ſolemnly veſted.

In the mean time the King in *Oxford* fearing a Seige, and having no better ſhelter in *England* to ſecure himſelf, after he had in vain woed the Parliament

liament from this his Court to a Treaty and agreement; designed an escape out of their hands, and to that purpose (Collonel *Rainsborough* and other Forces at a distance lying about all the passes of the City) by Coll. *Ashburnham*'s means, procured a passe from the General for the said Coll. *Ashburnham* and his two Servants, to Travel from *Oxford* upon some pretence of private business of the Collonel, and by vertue thereof in a Disguise of a Servant passed their Guards, and after many traverses delivered himself into the *Scotch* hands then besieging *Newark*. Herein *Cromwell* most cunningly and deceitfully first practised the Kings ruine, for whereas upon the rendition of that City if the King had been taken in it, a sudden end had been put to the Troubles by some composure, which would have marr'd *Cromwell*'s plots, not to be acted but by a Stratocracy and an Army; by this means of suffering Him to escape, which might easily have bin prevented, the War was no nearer a conclusion than at the beginning, if the *Scots* as was hoped howsoever would have proved honest, and kept their Allegiance and Faith due to such extraordinary confidence and trust reposed in them.

Now to carry on their Treason the more irresistibly undiscoverably, upon a plausible pretence of lessening the charge of the Kingdom, they concluded to put their Partisans in the Parliament, (who gaped for the spoil of the Kingdom, and would be content with that) to motion a disbanding of some Regiments of the Army, which being a just and necessary work was assented to by many Patri-

ots who understood not the drift of the Conspiracy, and accordingly Major General *Massey*, and Coll. *Cook* and their Brigades were orderd to disband, amounting to Two Thousand five Hundred Horse, which journy-work was put upon General *Fairfax*, who at the *Devizes* performed it, giving them six Weeks pay for many Months arrears, divers of the disbanded came from very remote Countries, aud had passes, some for *Mesopotamia*, some for *Egypt*, and *Ethiopia* a sanctified and pious Crew!

Major Gen. *Massey* was he whom they aimed at in this Dismission, as too much an *Essexian*, and of juster and honester principles than their designs would allow, of a very great interest in the Army also, and very well esteemed and beloved by them, as being of a clear spirit, and as valorous as the best of them, and would dare to oppose any rebellious practise whatsoever against the Authority of their Masters. Besides this, *Cromwell* had a further reach to the future on the Parliament likewise, first to make a division and begat and stir some ill humour in the Army, as if that were the leading case; next to make to make those Officers that should continue, when they should perceive at whose beck they must stand or fall, more fixedly dependant on him, and then to instill unto them his own Traiterous designs and purposes; and so having the Army entire at his devotion, effect and bring to passe all his Royall projections. *Massey* submitted, but carried the revenges of this affront and Cabal with him to the Parliament-house. *Cromwel* upon the Kings rendring himself to the *Scots* at *Newark*, was at *Westminster*,

and

and perceived by the toſſe and perplexity the Parliament was in about the Kings Perſon; that it was a brave thing to be a Monarch, and therefore concluded it very neceſſary to other his Elements and Points of Policy to get Poſſeſſion of his Majeſty: and thereupon his party, the *Independent* Faction, being ſo inſtructed, fall violently upon the *Scots*, and would have run it up to little leſſe than Treaſon for the *Scots* to detain the King. To this purpoſe divers Reſolutions and Meſſages paſſed, but it appearing in the Concluſion that the *Scots* drove at a Bargain, *Cromwel* and his Faction moſt readily agreed to ſtrike it, and ſo the King was delivered to the *Engliſh* Commiſſioners at *New-Caſtle*.

Yet that nothing might ſlip or paſſe which any way promoted his ambitious purpoſes, he made uſe of this agreement of the 200000 *l.* to be paid the *Scots* by his Agents, to mutiny the Army under Generall *Poyntz*, another *Preſbyterian* Commander then at *York*, upon their Guard againſt the ſaid *Scots*, as if the Parliament had no care or reſpect for them, but that Forreigners ſhould be paid with their money; and then afterwards upon the ceaſing that Tumult and Military Sedition, to get *Poyntz* diſmiſſed, as too remiſſe and negligent in his Command. And not long after died the Earl of *Eſſex*, one whom *Oliver* more feared then any or all the *Preſbyterian* Officers together, Death officiouſly removing this great impediment alſo; ſo that by this time there was not an Officer left in the Army that did not acknowledge *Cromwell's* Sultanſhip; the Gen. himſelf being lulled & bewitched with the *Syren*

*rent* Charmes of his zealous insinuations.

The *Presbyterian* Party in the Parliament began now to be sensible, whither these devices tended, and therefore to Counterplot this Cabal of *Cromwells*, they resolved upon a new disbanding of some (the *Scots* having friendly departed home) and transporting of other Regiments for the service of *Ireland*, for that the necessity of that Kingdome did require the Translation of the War thither; This the *Independants* presently perceived, and gave *Cromwell* timely notice of, who knowing himself to be principally aimed at, caused it by some of his Familiars to be spread about the Souldiery, that the Parliament by the major Vote of some corrupt Members, had voted the disbanding of the Army to cheat them of their Arrears, and to send them in a necessitous condition into *Ireland*, to be there knock'd on the head by the Rebells. This presently put the Common Soldiers into such a rage, who alwayes judge by the first appearance, that they flew out into most opprobrious and reviling Language against the Parliament, but Fury being no present remedy to this evil, *Ireton* and his instructed Pupills prescribe a Module never heard of or practised in War before, of a Military Common-Council, who should assemble two Commission Officers, and two private Soldiers out of every Regiment, to Consult for the good of the Army, to draw up their grievances and present them to the General, and he to the Parliament; these to be called by the Name of Adjutators.

Having thus made sure of the Army, he thought

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it time now to make sure of the King, whom the Parliaments Commissioners had brought to his Captivity at *Holmby-house*, and therefore *Ireton* and he having sometime before acquainted themselves with the King in this his restraint, and vowed and protested their readinesse to serve him, to the enthraring the Kings belief, while they condoled the hard and unreasonable carriage of the Parliament towards him, especially in point of Liberty of Conscience, and the Worship of God (His Majesties Chaplains having been obstinately refused him) they judged it no difficult thing to get his Person into their Custody and deceive his good nature, with the same semblances of it in themselves, onely the manner was not presently resolved by them. For without the Generals consent and Command it could not be done in his name, nor might it avowedly be done by the Council of War, for it would be a peremptory and hazardous enterprise, and engage the whole Kingdome about their Ears, but at last it was concluded betwixt them that this surprizal of the King should be fathered on the Council of Adjutators, as the sense and Act of the Army. Thus in all these pushes and puzzels of accidents did they extricate themselves by that Mungril consistory, a meer *Chimera* or *Brainsick Idea* of a Convention which was conversant only about shadowes and umbrages of things, while *Cromwell* ran away with the substance.

This way being agreed upon, one Cornet *Joyce* a busie pragmatical person, whom *Cromwell* his Familiar had tutored in the Method of Boldnesse and Rebellion, was privately conferred with about it,

and after some familiar compellations hugged into the Conspiracy, and immediately dispatched away with a party of 1000 Horse on the 4. of *June*, to *Holmby*, where he arrived late at Night, but being very importunate to speak with the King, was by his order admitted, to whom he declared his Errand, and being demanded by whose Authority, whether by the General, or Councel of War, no other answer could be drawn from him, but that it was from the Army, adding that if the King should refuse to go along with him he must carry him away *per force*.

The King nevertheleſſe the whole night, and consulted with the Parliaments Commissioners, what was most adviseable for him to do, though the sway of his judgement invited him to the Army Custody (from a just Resentment of the sullennesse and Rebellious obstinacy of the Parliament) the Liberty of Conscience with other specious and dutiful pretences.

From *Holmby* therefore next morning the King was carried to *Childersly*, then the head quarters of the Army, though the King desired to go to *Newmarket* his own house, as perswading himself in some greater degree of Royalty, then in the Parliaments Tuition; but this was at first denyed and a complementary amends made him by the Generall, and more particularly by *Cromwell*, that His Majesty could no where be safer or more regally honoured then in their quarters, which were the only Sanctuary of his Person.

This daring presumption of seizing the King gave *light* to the World what this *Oliver* would at last appear

appear, though no certain Conclusions could be made, what the mischief did presently signifie: It was sufficient to *Cromwell's* design to amuse the World, and let them *guesse* at the danger he had *readily* prepared beyond any *sudden remedy*. And therefore he now personates the Kings Interest, professeth himself exceeding sorry to have mistaken the quarrell; intimates and insinuates to the King, that there were a corrupt party (meaning the *Presbyterians*) in Parliament, who alone withstood his Resolution, and that he and all the power and friends he could make, were resolved to assert his Rights, & vindicate them from those unreasonable injuries of the *Junto*, as he spared not frequently to own the same honesty to the Kings friends, then admitted to attend him; particularly he declared to Collonel *John Cromwell* (a Commander in the States Service in *Holland*) then in *England*, *That he thought the King of* England *was the most injured Prince in the World*, and clapping his hand to his Sword in some passion said, Cousin *This shall right him*: to the very great Contentment of that Loyal Subject, whom we shall have further occasion in this Discourse, and from this Passage to mention.

In the mean while the King is at his earnest desire which *Cromwell* seemed most officiously to study, conveighed to *Newmarket* House, and thither his friends and Chaplains without any restriction admitted, and such a sudden change made in the condition of the King as to his Liberty and Honour, that most of his party were *dazeled* with the *shews* of it, and could not *foresee* the Treason that was hid under those

these fair *Umbrages*: Nor could the King himself (so cunningly *Cromwell* carryed it) give any true judgement of this his Surprizal, more then that the Examples and rules of all Policy generally resolved him, *That the Person of a Prince in whosoever hands it remaineth, addeth Strength and Authority to that Party.*

The King being thus in *Olivers* hands, as he had declared (upon *Joyces* telling him, that he had the King in Custody) that he had the Parliament then in his Pocket; so his next Main Work was to perform his word; and to this intent he never ceased exasperating the King against the *Presbyterian* Members in Parliament, thereby indisposing the King to any accommodation with them, though the Terms or Propositions sent his Majesty were so unreasonable that they needed no dissuasion to his Assent: but this *Ambodexter* so invisibly managed both the injustice of the *Junto*, and the indignation and resentment of the King, that he was looked upon no otherwise then but at most as a *kind Spectator* and *Well-wisher* to the Kings Fortunes.

Nay so far had he proceeded in this Dissimulation and Treachery (the more detestable, by how much the simple confidence of so innocent a Prince was abused and deceived) that he stuck not sundry times voluntarily & of his own accord to assure the K. that if the Parliament failed in their duty, & did not spedily restore him, and settle the Kingdom, the Army should do it without them, and that to that very purpose the newly constituted Council or Court of Adjutators were now proceeding, and that speedily his

his Majesty should see the effect of his Faithfulnesse and Allegiance, while he the more indiscernibly sought, and most nefariously practised his Ruine.

The *Presbyterians* in Parliament, were hastily alarum'd at these Transactions of *Cromwell*, and therefore (the Army having assumed to themselves by decree of this their Court of Adjutators, a right of Petitioning as *English* Freemen, as being no mercenary Souldiers) resolved as was partly hinted before, to divide the Army and send part of it to *Ireland*, and forthwith to Cashiere *Cromwell* and his Chief Partizans, and to run parallell with his designes, to send Propositions to the King, at the same time as the Army had hammered out some proposals of more equal and of fairer pretences then theirs, so that the King acknowledged the fuller dealing of the Army, with which satisfaction of the King *Cromwell* seemed very much delighted, assuring His Majesty that more then that now proposed (which yet plainly asserted the Regall and Monarchall right) should in time be brought about, and that he might be confident in him as his most Dutifull and Faithful Subject.

Thus practised he with the King by Delusion and Treachery, but against the Parliament he proceeded in a more forcible way, for his party therein had tryed all wayes to overreach the *Presbyterian* with finesse and Artifice, but found them so vigilant and sensible of their proceedings and being also far the Major part of the House, that no issue was to be expected from debates and disputes with them, for a

Decla-

Declaration was now published, forbidding the Soldiers to Petition the Parliament, as being under their pay and command, and for disobedience hereunto, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and Mr. now L. *Hollis* had drawn their Swords upon one Major *Tuesday*, and committed another, one *Nicholas Tew* to *Newgate*, in the Month of *May*, and a private resolution had been taken to secure *Cromwell* then in Town, and not suffer him to return to the Army now full of rebellious mutiny against them, which might have put an end to this grand conspiracy, and the mischiefs ensuing, but *Oliver* having sudden intimation of the design got secretly and hastily out of Town, and upon a Flea-bitten Nag without stop or stay arrived at the Rendezvouz at *Triple-Heath*, *June* 5. his Horse all in a foam, and there was welcomed with the Shouts of the whole Army, to whom he declared the Actions and Designs of the Parliament.

And here was made that pernicious and destructive engagement of perpetuating the Army till their desires, that is, till *Cromwell*'s devices should be attained, and this for his better Security he caused to be confirmed at another more general Rendezvouz, *June* the 14. at *New-market*, where he himself was the first man alighting from his Horse at the head of his Regiment and lying upon his Belly that subscribed it, which was in several Parchment Rolls universally Followed. I must not omit one further remarque, on this occasion, one *Edward*, afterwards better known by the name of Collonel *Saxby*, and one *Lazingby*, both of the Coun-

Council of Adjutators, were ordered by the said Council to attend the Lieutenant General *Cromwell*, then quartering near *Colchester* in *Essex*, with a draught of the Engagement, every word whereof was privily dictated by himself and *Ireton*, yet at the receipt hereof *Cromwell* very angerly rising up in his bed, demanded *how they durst presume to give him any Papers*, they replyed, *it was the sence of the Army, and that they were commanded to deliver it*; *Be you well assured of that*, saith he in the same rage, and presently thereupon read it, and instantly changing his countenance to a mild and devout Aspect, said, *It is a most just thing, God prosper it, I will stand by the Army with it to the utmost of my life and Fortunes*, and so after many familiar Caresses dismissed them, it being his constant custome afterwards during this Intrigue, to take the meanest Soldier by the hand, clap him on the shoulder, or box him lightly on the Ear, thereby to ingraciate himself into their favour, and it accordingly succeeded, in this bold attempt and enterprize upon the Parliament.

For immediately hereupon an Impeachment is drawn up and presented to, and approved by, this Council of Adjutators against 11. Members of the House of Commons, the chief of the *Presbyterian* party, who had threatned and acted opposition to his Designs, *viz.* Sir *William Waller*, Collonel *Massey*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, Mr. *Denzill Hollis*, Collonel *Long*, Mr. *Anthony Nichols*, Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Mr. *Glyn*, Sir *John Maynard*, Sir *Will. Lewis*, and Col. *Edward Harley*, the main of which charge

charge was, that they had been the Obstructers and Prejudicers of several Petitions to the Parliament for redresse of publique grievances, retarded the settlement of the Kingdome, and had shared the Revenue thereof among themselves, and last of all had underhand complyed with the King ... Imputations of all sorts to make something stick, and to catch one parties or others belief of their criminal Suggestions.

This was accordingly with impudence enough presented to the House of Commons, by Collonel *Scroop*, *Okey*, *Hewson*, and *Pride*, Lieut. Coll. *Goffe*, Major *Desborough*, *Berry*, *Clark*, *Carter*, *Rolph*, and *Sexby*, to which Charge a Paper was added, wherein they set forth, that in pursuance of those Representatives, they had the Heads of the charge ready, and will appoint fit persons on their and the Kingdoms behalf to make it good, they demanded Money likewise and Arrears, and to be paid equally, with such who being cajoled by the eleven Members, had engaged for *Ireland*, which forces they require to be stopt from returning toward *London*, for fear of a design. And though the Parliament had expresly declared against this unparrall'd violence, yet straightways the Army advanceth nearer to *London*, resolving not to desist their March till they were superseded the House; which affront was most abjectly suffered by the Parliament, and the said Members after some frivolous debates, suspended sitting till they had cleared themselves: and now *Cromwell* having thus awed the Parliament, and abused the King, was come

to

to a fair prospect of his aspired greatnesse, making good that presagious saying of his upon the seizing of the King by *Joyce*: there remained now nothing to hinder the facilitating of the residue of his plot but the City of *London*, and we shall see him cajole and baffle them worse and more insolently then the Parliament.

But before we mention that, we must return to the King, now traversing the Country with His Army, and shewed to the people in great State, and received and welcomed every where by them with all demonstrations of joyful Allegiance, and in like manner yet Complemented by *Cromwell*: Thus he progressed from *New-market* to *Royston*, thence by St. *Albans* to *Hatfield*, to *Windsor* (being carried towards *London* almost in the same Road, in which he was driven thence) to *Caversham*, back again to *Maidenhead*, to *Latimer*, *Stoke*, *Oatlands*, *Sion-House*, almost in view and hearing of those Tumults which forced him away; while in the interim, *Oliver* having made a Pique against the Citizens, and revenged one Tumult by another, had made the City submit, and receive the Domineering Army in Triumph through their Streets, with Lawrel and other Ensigns of Victory in their Hats.

With the Army returned those Fugitive Members, that left the Parliament upon the same Tumults, being invited by *Cromwell* to his Sanctuary of Red-Coats, while the remaining Members had voted the Kings present coming to *London*, to treat personally with his two Houses, all which Votes being Tumultuously obtained (by instinct of some of

*Crom-*

*Cromwell's* own sending to encrease the violence) were afterwards vacated after a long strugling in the Parliament as contrary to Privilege; and the secluded Members, who had resumed their seats, deserted *London*, and went some over Sea, others with passes to their own homes in the Country, resigning their ill employed power to *Cromwell*, and his Faction in the Parliament, who abused it ten times more. *In Justification of this insolence they published a Declaration, wherein they said, that the Parliament had declared that it is no resistance of Magistracy to side with just principles, and the Law of Nature and Nations, bring the same Law upon which they had assisted them, and that the Soldiers may lawfully hold the hands of the General who will turn his Cannon upon the Army on purpose to destroy them; The Seamen the hands of the Pilot who wilfully runs the Ship upon a Rock, as their Brethren the* Scotchmen *had also argued.*

*The said Declaration still directing them to the equitable sense of all Laws and Constitutions, as dispensing with the very Letter of the same, and being supreme to it, when the safety and preservation of all is concerned, and assured them; That all Authority is fundamentally seated in the Office, and but ministerially in the persons.*

But before this great successe, the dubious Expectation thereof, had caused *Cromwell* to stagger now and then at his first resolutions, (which if prosperous would at all times help themselves, and there ultimately he was fixed, whatever conditions and promises, cross accidents should extort from him)

him) and therefore he was dealing with the King in way of recompence and reward for his service in his restitution, that he should be made Earl of *Essex*, and a Knight of the Garter, his eldest Son to be of the Bedchamber to the Prince, his Son in Law *Ireton*, to be either Lord Deputy, or at least Field Marshal General of *Ireland*, and it was reported by *Henry Cromwell*, that then Commanded the Generals Lifeguard, that the King had put himself upon his Father and Brother *Ireton*, to make his terms for him, and restore him to his Crown: which grant of the Kings caused and produced those proposals before-mentioned to be contrived, but now in the very nick of this Juncture set forth and published, called the Proposals for the setling a just and lawful peace, where in the three first and last particulars, the Authority was left as entire in the King as before; the rest were some *Caprichio's* of Biennial Parliaments and the like Figaries, whose impertinencies discredited the important veracity of the other. But this feud betwixt the *Presbyterians* and *Cromwell*, ending so fortunately for him, there being nothing at present to withstand his first and grand intendment, he began to waive his respects to the King, and cast of those disguises wherewith he had made himself acceptable to the Kings adherents, and laid aside the King and them.

The King therefore gently reminds *Cromwell* of his promises, repeats to him his Protestations, and urgeth the propoſals aforesaid (and not only so, but in confidence of the fair meaning of the Army de-

declines a speedier accommodation with the Parliament) but *Cromwell* begins to turn a deaf ear, to deny many things what he had said and promised, to retract from others, pretending the difference of times and circumstances, that they cannot be performed, telling the King moreover, that He did mistake and not rightly understand his meaning, and in short that though he would keep his word with His Majesty, that now it was not in his power, for that the Adjutators were grown to such an ungoverned and insolent licentiousnesse, that untill the Discipline of the Army could be recovered, it were in vain to expect any such things as he when he promised really intended.

The King was at this time at *Hampton-Court*, perplext on the one hand with the obstinacy of the Parliament in their Propositions, being more rigid since the last garbling by the Army; and on the other with the dangerous Positions of the Adjutators and the Levelling party both in Camp and City, in which last *John Lilburn* was Chief of the Faction, who decryed Monarchy & all former rights of Government, having something (which *Ireton* spread by the by as it were among the Soldiery) in projection, on purpose to stave off all manner and means of settlement. This at last came to a Systeme or Consistency and was styled an Agreement of the people, and was now the onely darling of the Army and the Sectaries: being a mixture or miscellany of Politique Notions no way practicable among *English-men*, being a deformation or destruction of all things, but an establishment of nothing, a meer temporary

porary expedient, and ſhift of deſign; (except alwayes their Arrears, Indemnity and the period to the Parliament) and this ſhape *Cromwell* aſſumes alſo, confeſſing and acknowledging the excellence, equity and goodneſſe of the ſame, the only fault in it was the unſeaſonableneſſe, for as yet it was not his time and his cue to appear ſo publiquely againſt the King; and this his Character of it was dreſt out and enlarged with ſuch taking Saint-like Language, as the Phanatick rabble might beſt be ſurprized, and not ſuſpect any of his own venomous deſigns to be lurking under the leaf his Holy and ſacred pretences. Withal when his Plot againſt the King was ripe for Execution, he cauſed a Faſt to be publiſhed in the Army, (a certain forerunner of miſchief with him) where he was as uſually obſerved to howl and cry, and bedew his Cheeks with the Tears of Hypocriſie, cruelty, and deceit; and after this mock-duty performed, he and the reſt of the Officers pretended to confeſſe their iniquity and abomination, in declining the Cauſe of the People, and tampering with the King, and then in the preſence of the All-ſeeing God, acknowledge the way of an Agreement of the People to be the way to Peace and Freedome.

The King was in the mean while, by the fallacious advice of *Whalley*, and the practiſes of *Cromwell*, (who had cauſed frequent rumours to be whiſpered, of ſome Aſſaſſinate intended by the *Levellers* againſt his perſon) frighted from *Hampton-Court*, which place was found to be too near to *London* for fear of a reſcue, in a dark and tempeſtu-

ous night, in *Nov.* 1647. an hour or two before which, *Cromwell* then at *Hampton-Court*, cast himself upon his knees & often kissing the Kings Hand, said, *So God bless me and mine as I endevour yours, and your Childrens rights and dignities*; & turning to M. *Huntingdon*, (who from this passage could never afterwards endure *Cromwel*, but interrupted him) said, *Tarry you with the King this night, and if any thing happen here, bring me word*; who accordingly did so with some grief and amazement, to which *Cromwel* replyed with laughter, *that the K. was where he desired, and that there wanted nothing now to his desires, but that his Children were there to bear him company, under the disloyal custody* of Coll. *Hamond*, Governour of the Isle of *Wight*, and Brother to the most Learned and Reverend Dr. *Hamond*, which consideration *Cromwell* forelaid, would invite the King in his distresse to betake himself thither, where we shall leave him in a most disconsolate Imprisonment: The Votes of *Non Addresses* being not long after procured by *Cromwell*'s Menaces to the Parliament; when upon the Debate of them he declared in such like words. *That it was now expected by the good People of the Nation, and and the Army, that the Parliament would come to some Resolution and Settlement, as the Price of all the Blood and Treasure that had been expended in the War, and that they would not now leave them to the expectation of any good from a Man whose heart God had hardened, but if they did, they should be forced to look for their preservation some other way.* At the end of this Speech he laid his hand upon his Sword by his side, as was

the more obſerved, becauſe formerly in the ſame place, it could not keep him from trembling, when Sir *Philip Stapleton* a man of ſpirit and metal baffled him; but Sir *Philip* and his Seconds were now out of Dores. Next to him ſpoke *Ireton*, in the very ſame ſenſe (being newly choſen a recruit for the Parliament, by their illegal writ of Election) extolling and magnifying the valour, civility, and duty of the Army, concluding with the ſame threats, that if the Parliament would not ſettle the Kingdome without the King, then they of neceſſity muſt and would.

So that after ſome Oppoſition, the ſaid votes having paſſed againſt any further Addreſſe to be made to the King, *Oliver* thought himſelf cock-ſure, and and therefore the King, Parliament, and City being in his power, he had no rub left to his Ambition, but thoſe Imps and Spirits of his own raiſing and conjuring up, the Adjutators and Levelle s of the Army, who having con'd their Leſſon of the Agreement with the people, were become moſt artful and skilful Governours, alrady boaſting in the Country, (many of which ſilly people they had induced to their ſide upon the accompt of laying all in common, and in a wilde Parity) that the Parliament ſate only during their pleaſure, and till a new Repreſentative then a forming, ſhould take upon them them the Government; nor did they more dutifully reſpect and behave themſelves to their Officers, whom they counted as pieces of the Prerogative Military, and therefore decried all Courts and Counſells of them, which now began to ſeparate and act by themſelves, without the mixture of theſe Adjutators.

This exorbitancy and heigth of the Souldiery, was altogether as destructive to *Cromwell*, now he had done his work with them for this time, as any of the other three Interests, but desperate Diseases must have desperate Cures, for immediately the Head-quarters being then at *Ware*, Coll. *Eyer* a *Leveller* was seised and imprisoned, and one *Arnold* a private Soldier shot to death for promoting the former solemn Engagement, and Agreement of the People, and after that he cashired all such who favoured the same; and to fan and cull out the rest, he proceeded to disband 20 out of a Troop, by which the most of that party were totally excluded; the like was done in *London* by the Imprisonment of Mr. *Prince*, and others of the same Faction.

Having thus for the present still'd that commotion in the Army, the danger of a second War seemed afresh to threaten the *Junto* and *Cromwel*, by reason of their injurious Votes of *Non-Addresse*, and therefore to prevent so formidable a Conjunction of all Interests and Parties against him, He now by his Party and Emissaries, proposeth an accommodation between the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, & a way and means whereby they may be so united; at the motion of this in the House of Commons, a Gentleman replyed, *That if there were any such persons, who had any private Interest different from the publique and under the distinction of parties had prejudiced the Kingdome, he was not fit to be a Member of that House*: Nevertheless it was insisted on that the House would declare and ratifie their Votes of nulling and making void the Votes that passed in the absence of the Speakers that fled

into the Army in 1647. and their Engagement of adhering to the Army, which were tacitly confeſſed to be then unduly procured; ſo fearfull and doubtfull was he again of the iſſue of thoſe new Troubles he forſee would fall out, and therefore would ſhelter himſelf and juſtifie his Actions by the Authority he had ſo often baſled.

The ſame Artifices he uſed likewiſe to the City offering them now upon the like condition of uniting Intereſts, the freedom of their Lord Mayor and Aldermen, *viz.* Sir *John Gayr*, Alderman *Langham*, Alderman *Adams*, and others, and the ſetting up again their Poſts and Chains, but when they (having already treated and engaged with the *Scots*, then in preparation for a March into *England*) refuſed to give ear to any propoſitions or terms, reſenting the baſe affronts he and the Army had put upon them, He, queſtioned his Argent *Glover*, who gave him Commiſſion to make any ſuch Overtures, & in great rage turned him out of his Service.

About the ſame time to be in preparation and readineſſe againſt any City tumultuary onſlaught or deliberate Maſſacre, he had ſeveral Magazines furniſhed in private houſes in *London*, to Arm his Phanatick partakers, one of which being found out was out-noiſed by him to be the ſtore of the Malignant and *Presbyterian* Party, and the Arms accordingly ſecured and cloſely delivered into his hands again, which was conſonant to his former Cheats, when upon the disband of the Supernumeraries, their Arms were delivered to his diſpoſal, and others more addicted to his Party, Liſted and Armed with them in

other

other Regiments, ſo that the charge to the publick was ſtill the ſame.

The danger ſtill increaſing, he ſuffered the Lords as namely the Earls of *Suffolk*, *Lincoln*, Lord *Maynard*, *Willoughby*, &c. whom he had impeached of High Treaſon after his March into *London*, to be freed from their Impriſonment in the *Tower*, and with them the Maior and Aldermen aforeſaid; and as a further ſatisfaction and ſubmiſſion to the Authority of the Parliament, A Declaration of the Army is publiſhed, wherein *they bewail their former miſcarriages and miſdemeanors towards the Parliament, their medling with the Civil power, and that force and violence they had offered to the two Houſes, and in Concluſion promiſe faithfully & dutifully to acquieſce in their Reſolutions and Wiſdom.* With this *Hocus Pocus* deluding the *Presbyterian* party into a kind of ſtupid neutrality or rather worſe, while yet they would by no means comply with the King, untill *Polyphemus* Courteſie appeared in this *Cromwellian* Craft.

The *Scots* under Duke *Hamilton*, having entred *England*, and divers Inſurrections happening in *England* and *Wales*, according as was expected, *Cromwell* was ordered by the Parliament to attend the firſt of them, which was the *Welch* and *Northern* Armies (though the *Scots* delayed their March ſo long till all was neer loſt in *England*) and after a ſhort Siege, upon the Defeat at St. *Fagons*, which was atcheived in his abſence, took in *Tenby-Caſtle*; *Pembroke-Caſtle* held out againſt him a while longer but his haſt indulging them good terms was yeilded; thence he marched for *Lancaſhire*, having joynd with

Major

Major General *Lambert*, who attended the motion of the *Scotch* Army; and at *Preſton*, his forces amounting to few more then 9000 Men, whereas the *Scots* were not leſſe then 20000, gave Duke *Hamilton* Battle, and after a very ſhort diſpute, wherein the *Engliſh* Forces under Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* made him the greateſt Oppoſition, totally routed the *Scotch* Army, taking all their Artillery, Bag and Baggage and ſome 9000 priſoners, with the Duke himſelf in the purſuit Southwards, while he followed the main of the flying Army Northwards, with a reſolution of putting a final end to that buſineſſe, and to rid himſelf of the Fears which from thence had hitherto perplexed him. Upon this his haſty advance, Major General *Monro* who commanded the reſerve of 6000 Men to the former Army, and was marching after them, immediately returned to *Berwick*, and ſo back into *Scotland*, *Berwick* upon *Cromwells* approach rendred it ſelf upon terms, and hindered not his advance to *Edinburgh*, where by the Committee of Eſtates he was very ſumptuouſly welcomed:

*Monro* as yet and the Earl of *Lanerick* with him ſtood to their Arms upon the *Hamilton* account in the *Weſt* of *Scotland*, and the Marqueſſe of *Argaile* with another party ſtood for the purer Kirk, which ſince the Dukes march had recovered its Magiſtracy and Superiority, and with *Cromwell's* acceſſionall Troops could give Law to the Kingdom: but becauſe *Cromwell* was loth to venture a new War there, ſo far diſtant from his main deſign which the Army ſucceſſes at home had now matured, and his preſence

wanting to accompliſh it, he ſo ordered the matter that a Treaty was procured, by which all parties were to lay down their Arms (a greater aſſurance to him then if the Kirk had been abſolute victor) the *Hamiltonians* to have indempnity, but none of them to be admitted or elected for the next Parliament or Aſſembly General, ſo that he ſo abſolutely manacled that Nation, that they had no other uſe of their hands then to hold them up to Heaven at the dolefull murther of their naturall Prince, whom by their primitive rebellion they had brought to the Block.

Things thus ſettled in *Scotland*, he departed thence, having been moſt highly and magnificently treated by the Grandees of that Kingdome before and at his departure, and complemented by the Kirk as their deliverer, which he regeſted in as good Scriptural Language, laying his hand on his breaſt and demurely looking on their *Scotch* ſcrewed faces, and laughing to himſelf what Ideots he had made of thoſe Polititians at their own ſanctified Weapons.

In his way homeward he viſited the Seige of *Pomfret*, and was by the Commander in Chief againſt that place importuned, to ſee it reduced but ſtaid only to the gaining of the Town (it being being beleived that his fortune or experience Maſtered all things) as he was afterwards at *Scarborough*, which being upon the point of Surrender, he diſpenced, for the Honour thereof to ſtay at that Leagure and have it delivered into his hands; and ſo poſted for the head Quarters of the Army then at St. *Albans*,

*Albans* having ſubdued all the oppoſition made this Summer 1648, where he was welcomed with the higheſt gratulations of his late atchievement, eſpecially by the Officers, for as yet the Soldiers knew not what to think of him as to their new Agreement of the People, which was now began again and favoured already by *Ireton* ſo much, as that he had it under conſideration, and promiſed to return it with ſome additions and amendments of his own.

And that proved that accurſed Remonſtrance of the Army, in which all the former freaks of policy were inſerted to make up the number, but the burthen thereof was the Treaſonable Contrivance of the Kings Death, and the altering the Government; for firſt they remonſtrated to the Parliament, That all perſons of whatſoever quality or condition, not excepting the King, that had been guilty of the blood ſpilt in the late War, ſhould be brought to juſtice and condigne puniſhment; Next, That a day ſhould be ſet for the ſummoning the Prince and the Duke of *York*, to appear and clear themſelves of ſuch things as ſhould be laid to their charge, and if they did not, then to be declared incapable of ſucceeding in the Government. Many ſuch there were of the like Batch, but all of them concluded with a moſt favourable Aſpect to the Royal party, whoſe fines and compoſitions they pretended to have mitigated, and many more Good Morrows, on purpoſe to amuſe even them too, as they had deceived and outwitted the *Presbyterian*. This peſtilent paper *Cromwell* got delivered to the Houſe of Commons by a ſelect number of Officers, juſt as they had

almoſt

almoſt concluded with the King by a Treaty in the Iſle of *Wight*, to the amazement and fright of all good Chriſtians and Subjects.

And here *Cromwel* terminated and centred all the crooked lines of his moſt Imbious Ambition, reſolving to ſtand or fall by this Concluſion, and therefore immediately, (the Army being then advanced to *London*, to proſecute this Remonſtrance) as he had diſpatched Collonel *Ewer* to take the King out of the Cuſtody of *Hammond*, and carry him over to *Hurſt-Caſtle*, a moſt unhealthful place, ſo did he upon notice that the Parliament had voted the Kings Conceſſion a ground for a peace and ſettlement of the Kingdome, command Coll. *Pride*, a fellow who had not wit enough to conſider his buſineſſe, to ſeize upon the avennues and paſſages to the Parliament Houſe, and exclude above a 140. Members. whoſe names were given him in a Roll, which unheard of and unparallel'd Violation, was back'd and ſecured by Force of Horſe and Foot, quartering up and down the City and Suburbs, another lawleſſe and forcible Intruſion upon their Charter.

The Houſe being thus purged as they called it, and others, beſides thoſe that were forcibly ſecluded, abſenting themſelves for fear of being engaged and overpowred in thoſe wicked Councels which this Action portended, the remaining *Junto* of his Culling, a great part whereof were Army Officers not amounting in all to 60. paſſed an Ordinance for Tryal of the King, the manner whereof by a High Court of Juſtice of his and *Iretons* own forming

and

and Conception, was fully agreed upon, and the King brought from the ſaid *Hurſt-Caſtle*, by *Winchester*, *Farnham* and *Windſor*, to St. *James's*, in order thereunto.

But of this lamentable Tragedy ſo much hath already been ſaid, that I will not add this ſupernumerary to load him here, though it were his principal Guilt, and to which all his other perpetrations were but in tendency: ſuch miniſterial ſubſervient practiſes, as *hoc excepto*, the Event not reckoned, might favourably paſſe for genuine and right policy, influenced and managed by the concurrent Fate of things, and the elevated Subtleties, and undiſputable Strengths of a happy Brain, and more proſperous Sword. I will only inſtance two particulars, relating to this ſad and fatal buſineſſe, which diſcover the Abyſſe of this mans Villany.

There was mention made before of Coll. *John Cromwell*; This Gentleman upon the news the States of *Holland* had received of this proceeding againſt the King, at the inſtance of Our Soveraign, then Prince of *Wales* reſiding at the *Hague*, to them, to mediate and interpoſe in the buſineſſe, was pitch'd upon by them as the only fit perſon, becauſe of his relation to *Cromwell*, (who was looked upon there as the only Contriver of this miſchief) to be employed in a Meſſage to him, with Credential Letters from the States, whereunto was added a Blank with the Kings Signet, and another of the Princes, both confirmed by the States, for *Cromwell* to write his own conditions in, if he would now preſerve the life of the King.

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The Collonel putting ſome confidence in what *Oliver* had formerly told him, willingly undertook the Errand, and forthwith repaired to *London*, (juſt before the Kings Martyrdome) and found him out at his houſe: but ſo recluſe and lock'd up in his Chamber, with an Order that none ſhould know he was within, that he could not be admitted till he had told his name. After mutual Salutations the Collonel deſired a word or two in private, which being granted, he began roundly to tell him of the flagitiouſneſſe of the Fact, now almoſt ready to be committed, and how deteſtable it ſounded abroad, adding that of all men living he never ſhould have imagined that he would have had a hand in it, having proteſted ſo much for the King in his hearing. Whereupon *Cromwell* fell to his old ſhifts, telling him it was not he but the Army, that 'tis true once he did ſay ſuch words, but times were altered, and Providence ſeemed to diſpoſe things otherwiſe; that he had prayed and faſted for the King but no return that way was yet made to him; whereupon the Collonel ſtepping back clapt the Dore to, to the agaſting of *Cromwell* who ſuſpected and aſſaſſinate) and coming cloſe to him, *Couſin* ſaid he *it is no time to dally with words in this matter, look you here ſaid he* (pulling out the aboveſaid Papers out of his pocket) *'tis in your own power not only to make your ſelf but your Poſterity, Family, and Relations happy, and honourable for ever, otherwiſe as they have changed their names before from* Williams *to* Cromwell, *ſo now they muſt be forced to change it again, for this Fact will bring ſuch an ignominy*

upon

*upon the whole generation of them, that no time will be able to wipe away.*

*Cromwel* here paused, and seemed to ponder with himself, and after a little space said, *Cousin, I desire you will give me till night to consider of it, and do you go to your Inn, but go not to bed till you hear from me, I will confer and consider further about the businesse.* The Collonel did so, and about one of the Clock (within an Evening or two of the Murther) a Messenger came to him and told him he might go to Bed, and expect no other answer to carry to the Prince, for the Council of Officers had been seeking God as he also had done the same, and it was resolved by them all that the King must dye.

The other is of the same piece with the former (not to mention his threatning of Collonel *Downs* into an acquiescence with other the Regicides, upon the adjournment of the High Court of Justice at the Kings request into the Painted Chamber; nor his like usage of Collonel *Ingoldsby*, and holding his hand while he signed that horrid Sentence, and many other particulars of the same Crime) and perfectly discovers how much an Atheist or Mocker of God he was in his pretended Piety and Devotion.

The very same day appointed for this Murther, *Cromwel* and the Officers assembled together, to consider of some means if possible (with security still to the Nation) of saving the Kings Life, and many tedious expedients were offered by some not so bloody as the rest, and a speedy Remonstrance to the Parliament proposed, and in the mean while the

the King ſhould be Reſpited. *Cromwell* likewiſe ſeemed very forward, expreſſing how glad he ſhould be if ſuch a thing might be effected, for he was not ignorant, he ſaid, what calumny that Action would draw upon the Army and themſelves in particular, though they did nothing therein but in obedience to the Parliament. But before we (ſaid he) proceed in ſo weighty a matter, let us ſeek God to know his mind in it; hereunto they agreed, and *Oliver* began a long-winded prayer and continued in it till a Meſſenger whom he had appointed for that purpoſe, came rapping at the dore and haſtily told them that they need not trouble themſelves about the King, for the work was done, which being unexpected to many of them, did at preſent aſtoniſh them, while *Cromwell* holding up his hands, declared to them, that it was not the pleaſure of God he ſhould live, and therefore he feared they had done ill to tempt him againſt his Will; or words to that effect.

When the Kings body was removed and coffined *Cromwell* to ſatisfie himſelf of the full and certain conſummation of all his practiſes againſt his ſacred life, would needs ſee himſelf, and upon his return thence was heard to ſay, *That if he had not been a King he might have lived longer.*

Other paſſages there were which concern this doleful ſubject, both preceeding and ſucceeding it, as namely *Olivers* Conferences with *Hugh Peters* at *Ware*, his feigned Letters out of the *North* to applaud this Fact, and extolling the Juſtice and Courage of the Army, by whoſe mean it was, that the great Cedar of the Forreſt was fallen, without

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any noiſe, and now the time was comming when we ſhould rejoyce under our own Vines and Figtrees - - - *whence this Criminal had his leaves, and we Blood inſtead of Wine*; but of this more then enough.

With much craft and cunning did he now hide his daring ambition, for though it was thought as feaſible for him now to have ſeized the Crown as afterwards, conſidering that his Uſurpation was to be maintained by Arms, yet he well knowing what a Faction their was in the Army of the *Levelling* principle; ventured not to put his oracular Title to a preſent Tryal, but await more promiſing opportunities.

In the mean while to quarrel theſe *Levellers*, and confine the Democratical Regiment or a Free State (ſo it was now called) to a narrow compaſſe, and to aſſume the greateſt part of the Government to himſelf, eſpecially the executive power thereof, according as *Ireton* had projected the module ſoon after *Newmarket-Heath* engagement; a Council of State like the 30. Tyrants of *Athens* was eſtabliſhed, which conſiſted principally of his Creatures, and theſe was but forerunners of his ſingle Tyranny, like rayes by a burning Glaſſe contracted into one Beam; The word being now given out amongſt the Officers of the Army; *That this Nation muſt have one prime Magiſtrate or Ruler over them, and that the Generall hath power to make a Law to bind all the Commons of* England.

Theſe tendencies to Slavery firſt of all enraged the *Levellers*, who having promiſed to themſelves

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a good ſhare of the ſpoile of the Kingdome, found they were meerly deluded, and that all the engagements and agreements were but ſo many *Reſiles* by which the Army was drawn on to act *Cromwell's* deſigns, who had on purpoſe contrived that Council of Adjutators, to engage the maſſe of the Souldiery in the danger of his Treaſonable conſpiracy, that knowing themſelves in the ſame predicament with him, they muſt reſolve to ſtand by him, like a wily Fox who being purſued, will herd himſelf among the ſheep and ſo avoid the dogs; but all thoſe hazards and neceſſities being paſs'd, Council of Adjutators was aboliſhed, the Officers now abominating to ſuffer the Soldiers to ſit Cheek by Jole them any longer, the Expedition for *Ireland* abſolutely concluded on, without ſatisfaction of Arrears, the Engagement ſlighted, and the right of Petitioning, which the Army claimed as Freemen, denyed by their Officers, who put them upon impeaching the 11. Members for that very reaſon; and becauſe a neer totall Defection of the Army followed upon this ſoon after, the Engine which *Cromwell* had uſed to ſubvert the Government, being likely to prove his own Ruine,

*----( Nec Lex eſt Juſtior ulla*
*Quam necis artifices arte perire ſua, )*

though the Fates and his Treachery narrowly prevented it, it will be requiſite to ſhow you the ſenſe of the Army, upon the preſent State of the Uſurpation in this following Petition, and will fully ſatisfie Poſterity of thoſe his deluſions and Cheats that acted it.

To

# To his Excellency *Thomas* Lord *Fairfax*, and his Councel of Officers.

May it please your Excellency, and your Councell of Officers.

WE have lately made our humble Addresse unto the Peoples Representators in Parliament, concerning some relief to our selves and the Common-wealth, by way of Petition, the meanest and lowest degree of an Englishmans Freedome that we know of, and yet the same (to our astonishment) hath much distasted and imbittered divers of our Superiour Officers (in this Councel convening) against us, as we perceive, and that even unto death.

We therefore being willing to avoyd all occasion of offence and division, and to clear our selves of all imputations thereof, that in Justice and reason may be convinced against us, desire, that you would be pleased to consider, that we are English Soldiers, engaged for the Freedoms of England; and not Outlandish Mercenaries, to butcher the People for Pay, and serve the pernicious ends of ambition and will in any person under Heaven. That we do not imagine our selves absolved from the solemn Engagement at Newmarket Heath, but to be still obliged before God and the whole World to persue the just ends thereof; and you may remember the many pro-

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miſes and Declarations to the people upon that account, which like the Blood of Abel cryes for Juſtice upon the perfidious infringers and pervertors there of in this Army. You may further remember that it hath been a principle by you aſſerted and avowed, that our being Soldiers hath not deprived us of our Right as Commoners; and to Petition the people in Parliament, we do account in the number of our Birthrights: and you may remember that in the time of the domination of the eleven Members, you complained againſt their then endevour to ſuppreſſe the Liberty of the Souldiers to petition, as an inſufferable infringement of the right of the Army and People: and we hope you did not then condemn it in them, to juſtifie it in your ſelves: when the Power was theirs, it was then condemned: but now it is yours, how comes it to be juſtified? In the point of Petitioning, we expected your Encouragement, and not to have manacles and fetters laid upon it: It is not the bare name or ſhadow thereof, will ſatisfie us, while we are robbed of the eſſence of it. It is a perfect Freedome which we deſire, not therein to be ſubject to under Gradual Negatives voyces of a Captaine, a Collonel, your Excellency, or your Councel: to paſſe the teſt from one Negative voyce to another for its approvement, we account as the moſt vexatious Labyrinth of thraldome that in this point can be deviſed, worſe than all oppoſitions and infringements of the eleven Members; we had rather that in plain termes you would deny us our right of Petitioning, and pronounce and proclaim us abſolute Slaves and Vaſſals to our Officers then ſecretly to rob us of

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*the right it ſelf. God hath in ſome meaſure opened our eyes, that we can ſee and perceive; and we deſire plain dealing, and not to be met half way with ſmooth expedients, and Mediums facing both wayes, with ſpecious and fair pretences, to overtake our ſudden apprehenſions, and unawares ſteal upon us, and ſo be defeated, as too often we have been, to the woe and miſery of the People, and of us: but* The burnt child dreads the fire.

*Further we deſire you to conſider, That the ſtrength, the honour and being of the Officer, yea and of this Councel (under God) doth conſiſt in the arm of the Soldier. Is it not the Soldier that endureth the heat and burthen of the day, and performeth that work whereof the Officer beareth the glory and name? For what is it, the Officer can can do without the Soldier? if nothing, why are they aſhamed to deny us our right to petition.*

*We have long waited in ſilence, even while we perceived any hopes of any reall redreſſe from them. But now finding the Military power in an abſolute Uſurpation of the Civil Jurisdiction, & in the place of the Magiſtrate executing that Authority, by which the Sword of War is incroached into the ſelf ſame hands under one Military head, we diſclaim and abhor it, as not having any hand or aſſent therein at all. And we find a ſtrange and unexpected conſtitution of a Councel of State, ſuch as neither we nor our forefathers were ever acquainted with, intruſted with little leſſe then an unlimited power, and with the whole force both of Sea and Land, in which are combined the moſt pernicious intereſts of all Ty-*

vies. And which hath already ſwallowed up half our Parliament, and we fear to be an expedient to cut off our Parliaments forever; for if this Councel of State ſurvive the Parliament, how ſhall we obtain a new Repreſentative, if the Parliament ſit but till a new one be ready to take their places, farewel Parliaments, farewel Freedoms.

Further, we find the juſt and legal way of trial by twelve men of the Neighborhood in criminal caſes, utterly ſubverted in this new conſtitution of an High Court, a Precedent for ought we know to frame all the Courts of England by, and to which our ſelves may be as well ſubjected as our enemies. And conſidering not one oppreſſion is removed, not one vexation in the Law abated, nor one punctilio of freedome reſtored, or any fair hopes at all appearing, but oppreſſion heaped upon the back of oppreſſion, double cruelty upon cruelty we therefore from thoſe many conſiderations, betook our ſelves as Engliſhmen to make our Addreſſe unto the Parliament, as the proper refuge and authority of the people for our and their Addreſſe, in which by birth we challenge a right, as alſo by the price and purchaſe of our hazard and blood; and our Civil Rights we cannot yeild up, we ſhall firſt rather yeild up our lives.

And thus after the weak meaſure of our underſtandings, we judge we have given a rational and full accompt of the occaſion and reaſon of our Petitioning, and we hope ſatisfactory to your Excellency and this Councell, humbly praying that you will make a charitable and fair conſtruction thereof.

And

*And we further desire, that you will take special notice of the serious Apprehensions of a part of the People in behalf of the Common-wealth, presented to the House by Lieut. Col,* John Lilburn, *and divers other Citizens of* London, *and the Borough of* Southwark Feb. 26. *now published in Print. To the which with due thankfulnesse to these our faithful friends the promoters and presenters thereof, we do freely and cheerfully concur, to stand or fall in the just prosecution thereof, as the most absolute Medium to our peace and freedom that hath been produced, and we hope it will produce an happy effect upon this Councel, to prevent the otherwise inavoidable dissolution and division that will ensue upon us all, which to prevent shall be the faithful endevours of*

*(Sir)*

Your Excellencies most humble
Servants and Soldiers,

Robert Ward. Simon Grant.
Thomas Watson. George Jelles.
William Sawyer.

These Petitioners being seized, were tryed at a Council of War, but for fear of too much exasperating the Army were only sentenced in this manner Coll. *Baxter* being then President, who delivered judgement in these sententious learned words,

*Gentlemen; for so I think I may without offence call you, for as yet you are Souldiers; but truly you are not long to continue so: For you are guilty of high crimes, as your Letter here by you owned doth manifest, being Scandalous as to the Parliament, Council of State, High Court of Justice, and tending to breed a mutiny in the Army; for which you have in a high measure deserved death; but through the mercy of the Court that is waived, and truly they have waived the Sentence again and again, and now they are come as low as possibly they can: and it being late I shall declare unto you your several Sentences, which are as followeth.*

You shall ride with your faces towards the horse Tails before the heads of your several Regiments, with your faults written upon your Breasts, and your Swords be broken over your heads, and so cashiered the Army, as not worthy to ride therein; and a Proclamation to be made, that none shall receive you into any Troop, Company, or Garrison. And this I would have you look upon as a great mercy of the Court.

Which sentence was accordingly executed upon them, in the *Great Palace-yard* at *Westminster*, *March 6.* to the exasperation of the Army.

Soon after all the Army quartering near *London*, rendezvouzed at *Ware*, where several Regiments, among

among whom was *Cromwell's* of Horſe, (in purſuance of the ſame Petition, and to be known by themſelves) wore white in their hats; *Oliver* had intimation of it, and thereupon he appointed two Regiments of Horſe from further quarters who were ignorant of this Combination to appear there likewiſe. Being all drawn up in *Pattalia*, *Cromwell* with an angry and down look rides round, and of a ſudden Commands one of thoſe two Regiments to encompaſſe a Regiment of Foot, which being done he commanded four men by their names out of the body, and committed them with his own hands to the Marſhal, and immediately called a Council of War, (while the reſt of their Partakers ſlunk their White Colours into their Pockets, and trembled at this boldneſſe of *Cromwell*) and tryed and condemned them, but by the favour of the Court they were to caſt Lots for their Lives, two only to dye; by which means the two Guilty perſons, and whom *Cromwell* chiefly aimed at, and luſty Fellows alſo, eſcaped, but the two other ſneaking ignorant Fellows were preſently ſhot to death, upon a green Bank by the other two, in the Face of the Army.

But yet could not this humour be purged out of the Army, though another Leveller bled for it, one *Lockyer* a Trooper, who for promoting the engagement and agreement was ſhot to death at St. *Paul's* Church-yard, and was attended to his Grave like a General Officer, a thouſand people of the *Lilburnian* Faction following his Herſe, all of them wearing Black and Sea-green Ribbons; Colours that de-

noted a *Storm* was coming, the whole Army being now generally leavened with the same principle, and furiously enraged at this Butchery of their Fellow Soldiers, being avowedly egged on by the said *Lilburn*, and secretly encouraged by the Royal party, who promised them their assistance in case they should need it.

And it was seen when too late by the Soldiery, (the Instruments of that Tyranny) that they had borrowed their Libertinisme at a dear rate, the price of their Lives; like *Crotanders* they should domineer for a while, but then become *Victimes* to their short ridiculous Usurpation, while the revenges of their Rebellion followed their endevours after those vain-glorious shadowes of their own casting.

The first formidable eruption of it was at *Salisbury*, where Col. *Scroops* Regiment of Horse laid aside their Officers, and with their Colours marched thence, in order to a conjunction with *Harrisons*, *Iretons*, and *Skippons* Regiments, who had confederated (by means of those Adjutators) in the same design: which affair admitting no delay, *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* with his own Regiment advanced to them. to *Bagshot*, and so to *Alton*, where they had notice that they were marched to *Abington*, whether (after a tedious march of forty miles in one day) the General came; and *Cromwell*, fell presently to work with his old Arts of Treachery, for *Harrisons* Regiment was hasting to the Conjunction.

His first finesse in order to their reducing was the offer of Treaty, wherein satisfaction might be mutual-

mutually given, and that done, that neither party ſhould come within Ten miles of one another; whereupon the Levellers marched to *Burford*, and being oppoſed at a Paſs called *Newbridge* over the River, to avoid any quarrel, and hoping the ſoldiery there, would no doubt joyn with them upon the Treaty, paſſed a mile lower, and arriving at the Town, relied ſo much upon the Generals and *Cromwell*'s engagements, that moſt of them had put their Horſes to graſſe, leaving a *Corps de guard*, of ſome 60. men, the whole party making in all 900. conſiſting of 12. entire Troops, reputed the beſt in the Army, and whoſe defeat would have coſt many mens lives, if the Army would have ſtood againſt them. But to ſave that difficulty, while thoſe ſecure Troops were reſting themſelves, and their Horſes put in the adjoyning Meadows, about 12. a Clock at night Coll. *Reynolds* fell into their quarters, having notice from ſome Traytors within of their poſture, and preſently maſtered the Guard, not dreaming of ſuch a Camiſado, or ſuſpecting of an Enemy, and ſeized moſt of the other, then tipling or aſleep. Here were taken nere 900. Horſe, and 400. Priſoners, whereof three only were Executed, one *Thompſon* and two more, who dyed very reſolutely, Cornet *Den* expreſſing his grief and ſorrow, was reprieved at the inſtant of Execution, which their fellows beheld from the Leads of the Church, and were ſaluted with a Meſſage of Decimation; but that *Cromwel* might ingratiate with the Army; for his ſake, and at his inſtance they were all pardoned, and ſent home to

their

their own houſes. The great Chieftain of them being perſued as he was marching towards the party, took into *Wellingborough-wood*, where couragiouſly defending himſelf, he was killed by Carbine ſhot, refuſing to take quarter at ſuch perfidious peoples hands. This Hurly Burly being over, and ended like a flaſh, the General came to *Oxford*, where he was highly treated, and he and *Oliver* made Doctors of the Civil Law.

This proved the utter Suppreſſion of that faction, and rendred the Army entirely at his command, without any farther diſpute of their Leading, ſo that they preſently ſubmitted to the Lot, which Regiments ſhould be ſent to *Ireland* (then almoſt reduced to the Kings obedience hy the Marquiſs of *Ormond*) which thus decreed it, *viz.* 11. Regiments *Iretons*, *Scroope*, *Hortons*, and *Lamberts*. Of Horſe, One of Dragoons under Col. *Abbot*. Of Foot, *Eures*, *Cooks*, *Hewſons*, and *Deans*. And three new ones, *viz. Cromwells*, *Venables*, and *Phayrs*.

*Cromwell* was ordained Commander in Chief, and tituladoed with the Style of Lord-Governor of *Ireland*; while *Fairfax* was left here to attend the Parliament, and paſſe away his time in the Dotages of his Succeſſe, giving him the Honour of ſubduing that Realm, and preparing it to his Uſurpation.

He with a very potent Army was now landed at *Dublin*. Whereupon a ſtrong Garriſon of 2500. Foot and 300 horſe, reſolved men under the charge of Sir *Arthur Aſton*, was put into *Drogheda*, the neareſt Garriſon to the late defeat of the Marquiſs

quiſs of *Ormond*, which *Cromwel* having refreſhed his Army a while at *Dublin* came to beſiege. The Town was ſtormed reſolutely thrice, and as well defended; Sir *Arthur Aſton* being ſo confident that he adviſed the Lord Lieutenant not to precipitate any thing, for he ſhould hold them play a while; but in the third aſſault Colonel *Wall* being unfortunately killed, his diſmaid Souldiers liſtened to the offer of quarter before they had need of it, and admitted them upon thoſe terms. *Cromwell* having notice that the Flower of the *Iriſh* Army was in his hands, gave order to put all in Arms to the Sword, where were killed Sir *Arthur Aſton*, Sir *Edmund Varney*, Coll. *Warren*, Coll. *Dun*, *Finglaſſe*, *Tempeſt*, *&c.* with 3000 Souldiers the beſt in that Kingdome.

He came next before *Wexford*, which having refuſed to accept of a Garriſon, now the Enemy was under their Walls, was contented to admit of 500. Men under the command of Sir *Edmund Butler*, and the Lord Lieutenant came alſo in ſight of the Town, before whoſe face *Stafford* the Governour of the Caſtle baſely betrayed it to *Cromwell*, together with the Town, who there treacherouſly murthered 2000 more.

Moſt abhominably and barbarouſly cruel he was in this place. for near 200 of the better ſort and the beautifulleſt Women of the City, having (upon the Town being entred) fled to the Croſſe, and with the command of their charming eyes, and thoſe melting tears, prevailed upon the Souldiers for quarter, now at his coming thither, and after

a laughing jeering enquiry what they did there, and other mocking insultations, were commanded to be knock'd on the head, which those that promised them life nobly refusing, He commanded another Regiment to encompass them, and there most horribly massacred them all.

*Rosse* was the next place whither a Garrison was sent under the command of *Luke Taaff*, with order (the Town not being tenable) to render upon Conditions, which accordingly a breach being made, they did, and marched away with their Arms. His next attempt was upon *Duncannon*, but the noble *Wogan* and the English Cavaliers gave him a foyle; hence he retreated to *Rosse*, where he made a floating bridge, that so having a passage to the other side he might compel *Ormond* either to divide his Army to observe his motions, or otherwise to get a passage into *Munster*, where he held intelligence with several places that would then Revolt; and accordingly for all my Lord *Taaff* was sent thither before hand to secure them, yet *Youghall*, *Corke*, and all the *English* Towns of *Munster* openly Revolted, and many of my Lord *Inchiquceens* men allured by Money and Commands in *Cromwell's* Army, ran over to the Enemy; and his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant having lost the opportunity of Fighting *Cromwell* by his dislodging from *Duncannon*, by night, when the *Irish* were cheerful and earnest to engage, was never after in a condition fit to venture a Battel. He therefore passes over this Bridge and so into the County of *Kilkenny* facing his Enemy and moving up and down after him, while his

Lieut.

Lieut. G. *Jones* with parties took in the Caſtles, and *Carrick* was wretchedly betrayed to him by *Martin* that Commanded there; whence *Cromwel* paſſes his Army into *Munſter*, and takes ſeveral Caſtles by the appearance only of his Horſe, only at *Kilkran* he received a repulſe, but *Ballyſaxon* was ſold to him; *Kilkenny* was taken next, after a ſtout defence made, the Townſmen complying contrary to the Soldiers knowledge, who were driven into the Caſtle and there conditioned. The next ente. prize he went in hand with was *Clonmell*, kept by Major General *Hugh Neale*, who behaved himſelf ſo well, that the Enemy having loſt 2500. Men before it had gone away with it, had it not been that the Garriſon wanted Powder, ſo that they got over the River to *Waterford* in the night, leaving the Townſmen to make conditions for themſelves, which the Enemy not knowing the Soldiers were gone, readily granted. It is very obſervable here, that though againſt the advice of the Councel of War He had reſolved on this Storm; upon the Defeat, he aſcribed it wholly to their confidence in the Arm of Fleſh & preſently enjoyned his ſtate *Cromwe* of a *Faſt* throughout the Army. Soon after Coll. *Roch* received a bruſh from my Lord *Broghil* in the County of *Cork*, where the Biſhop of *Raſſe* being taken was hanged.

I have thus briefly diſcourſed of the War in *Ireland*, that I might haſten to the grand event and from the Camp after another expedition conduct him to the Palace, the main conſequence of his life, which rendred all his other actions ſo notable and conſpicuous.

The

The *Irish* War thus in a manner ended, and the *Scotch* War ready to Commence, the Committee of Estates there, having concluded with the King at *Breda*, and he upon his Voyage to that Kingdome, where all correspondence with the *English* was by Proclamation forbidden, and all manner of Provision stopt from carrying into *England*, though the *Junto* at *Westminster* had used all Artifices to keep the *Scots* from closing with Him, who were so far disposed thereto, that they had barbarously murthered the Great Marquiss of *Montrosse*, a Hero far surpassing *Oliver* in Conduct, and who was untimely and unfortunately taken away from the rescue of his Country; *Cromwell* (like a Fury) was ready at hand to take revenge of that Fact. For having been secretly called for over from *Ireland*, to amuse all Parties (both the *Irish* who trembled at his presence, and made no considerable resistance against him and his Fortune; and the General himself at home, who expected not such his sudden rivalship to his Command, which gave him no time for mature consideration of the design; the *Scots*, who though alarumed by frequent rumours of an *English* invasion, yet were not so forward in their Levies, as having assurance of *Fairfax*'s dissatisfaction) he was now wafted over into *England*, preventing the Letters he had sent to the States to know their expresse pleasure for his departing that Kingdom.

On the beginning of *June* he returned by the way of *Bristol* from *Ireland* to *London*, and was welcomed by *Fairfax* the Generall, many Members of Parliament and Councel of State at *Houslow-heath*,

*heath*, and more fully complemented at his Lodgings, and in Parliament by the Thanks of the House, and the like significant Addresse of the Lord Maior, &c. of *London*, being looked upon as the only person, to the Eclipse and diminution of the Generals Honour, which we shall presently see him paramount in the same supreme Command.

The World that considered the carriage of this Politique towards his Prince, and with what impetuous violence, and short-lived *ex tempore* Councels he had bereaved him of his Life, had wondered that hitherto he had suffered the Command of the Army to rest in *Fairfaxe*'s hand, and had not practised some quicker expedient to remove him; that having finished the work of his Generation (as they canted it with *Essex*) he did not give him a Fig for his labour; but *Cromwell* who courted his *Minion* of *Providence*, and devoted himself to her care and tuition of his Designs, would not rashly precipitate his Ambition without her Augury, but await the Assistance and Concurrence of some promising Revolution, which those many Military crosse reencounters of that turbulent New State did certainly bode. And the *Scotch* War, now evening, the lucky minute was come; and his Brazen Head told him *TIME IS*, for from hence he dated his Empire and Sultanship, and the *Æra Olivaria*, choosing to derive his Succession to the Supreme Power, rather from the unperplex'd *Tradition* of the *Sword*, than from the upstart bold Title to, and a forcible *wresting* of the *Scepter*. And yet such Helps and Hints he way-laid to his Throne, that it was rumoured

moured soon after abroad, that he was descended of the *British* Princes, and near allyed to *Henry* the Seventh, the glory of that race. But to proceed.

This Command of course was devolved upon my Lord *Fairfax*, and he desired to accept it, but he being inscrupled by some of the *Presbyterian* Ministers (who were highly incensed at this War) as it was cunningly foreseen by *Oliver* and his Party, who never endevoured his satisfaction) and pretending a reluctancy from the Obligations of the National Covenant to engage aginst their Brethren, totally declined it, transferring the long expected Military Supremacy, by a Vote of the Parliament to *Cromwell*, who very zealously accepted the Charge, and with all readinesse prepared for the expedition; which made the second Trophy or Garland, of those strangely and wonderfully prosperous *Free-States of England*.

On the 12. of *June* it had been resolved that the Army should advance Northward, but it was towards the end of *July* before they arrived there, for on the 21. of that Month *Cromwell* quartered at *Berwick*, from whence he sent a Letter and Declaration to the Committee of Estates, fraught with hypocritical canting expressions, which the said Committee suppresst, returning answer, that they would reply to it by Messengers of their own; and lest any of their People should be deluded by the like fair words, they made it Treason for any person to correspond with the *English*, and fell a driving all their Cattle and Provision in the parts next adjacent to them, beyond *Edenborough*.

*Cromwell's*

*Cromwell's* Army was now reckoned 16000. effective, with which he came first to *Mordington*, his Headquarters *July* the 25. thence to *Hadington*, within 12. miles of *Edinburgh*, on the Hills whereabouts the *Scots* had encamped themselves, declining to engage till all their additional Forces were come out of the *High-lands*. On the 25. of *July* the *English* advanced, and attempted one of the said Hills where a small party of the *Scots* were, and beat them presently off, when a Party of *Scotch* Horse fell in the Rear with such fury and vigour, that they wholly disordered it, and with Reserves and Fresh bodies seconded and pursued this advantage, which being perceived by Major General *Lambert* and Coll. *Whaley*, who had the Rearguard, they couragiously repulsed them to their Trenches, in which Action *Lambert* had his Horse shot under him, was run through the Arm with a Lance, and taken Prisoner, but was rescued by one Lieutenant *Empson*. This past, and the Army wet and weary in their way to *Muscleborough*; betwixt 3 and 4 in the morning, another Party of some 1500 Horse, the flower of the Army, being veterane Blades, under the Command of Collonel *Montgomery* and *Straughan*; fell with great fury, and more exact valour upon them betwixt sleeping and waking, and brought a terrible fright and dismay upon the whole Army, Charging almost clear through upon the Sands, but returning with their Prisoners, were set upon by fresh Troops under Coll. *Okey*, in good order, and forced to double their speed home to their Camp, having lost an hun-

dred men (to the ſame number in the former attempt) and ſome of their Officers ſlain and wounded, but came off otherwiſe with honour enough, giving the Invaders little hopes of ſo eaſie a Victory and Conqueſt, as the Fates had decreed to them, and their invincible Fortune.

Several jealouſies, animoſities and diſcontents were now raigning among the *Scots*, more ſupremely then the Kings Authority; the Kings friends wholly diſcountenanced and laid by, even *Preſbyterians* themſelves no way underſtanding one another ſome willing to giue the King his Rights without more Stipulation and Engagements, others of them thinking they could not ſufficiently debaſe his Authority, and that it ſhould wholly depend on the Kirk; and to that purpoſe ſeveral irreverend Poſtulata were put to him, beyond the Tenour of the Treaty at *Breda*; and in fine that party prevailed ſo, as that the Army then on foot, was in effect but very little for the Kings Intereſt and Service, but was wholly at the diſpoſal of the rigid Covenanters. This was not unknown to *Cromwell*, who thereupon never ceaſed Scribling and Divulging of the *Engliſh* Armies good intention to the People of *Scotland*; *with whom they have no quarrel, but againſt a Malignant powerfull Faction, who had brought in the King to the diſturbance of the publick National peace and Friendſhip betwixt the two People, and that he was willing by Conference to give and receive ſatisfaction therein, otherwiſe to decide the Juſtice of that Cauſe by Battle.* To which when no Anſwer would be returned, he advanced on the

the 10. of *August* (having recruited his Army by those Provisions that were plentifully brought by Sea, the Fleet Sailing an even pace with him and observing the same signals) on the West-side of *Edinborough* up to the Line of the *Scotch* Army playing his Cannon, which were likewise answered, and Encamped on *Pencland-hills* a little above *Edinborough-castle*; intending to March for *Queensferry*, but the Passes were so difficult, and other Considerations intervened, that he proceeded no further. Next morning came a Letter to him with a Declaration from the Estates and Kirk by sound of Trumpet, Declaring that the quarrel being now stated, and the King ready to consent to their demands, they were resolved to put it to the Issue: and that the World may see what that was like to prove, it will be worthy the memory of those Transactions, to particularize them in this short abstract.

*Cromwell* being thus far advanced into *Scotland*, beyond the most advised Fears of the Parliament of *Scotland* (who had newly welcomed the King at St. *Johnstons*) and their Army yet unprepared to fight him, they thought fit to entertain his Time and divert his Hast with a Declaration, wherein most abominably they disowned the King, without such and such Satisfactions, to the tenor of the most rigid and undutifull conditions, that the worst of Rebells could have put upon a Prince, which being once confirmed and assented to by him, they would be ready to give Battel as the quarrell should then be stated, and upon which they might expect a blessing.

But this wile advantaged not the Kirk, but only ſerved as a Directory to *Oliver*, where he ſhould level his Treaſonable projects.

To this *Cromwell* takes very good occaſion to reply, and help out their ſophiſtry with ſome more of his own; and to let the *Scots* ſee of how near affinity the Kirk and the Congregational way were in this reſpect to the King, he permitted, nay, cauſed their Declaration to be publickly read to his Army; putting the *Scotch*-Remonſtrants upon theſe Dilemma's; *That their profeſſed diſowning of Malignants, and receiving and aſſiſting their Head and Chief, in whom all their hope lies, cannot conſiſt in common ſence or prudence, reciting (as evidence thereof) the late Popiſh affairs in* Ireland, *and Prince* Ruperts *roving at Sea. That ſuppoſe He (the King) ſhould give ſecurity of his turning, it muſt be ſome other way then by a few and feigned formal ſubmiſſions, for it is his neceſſity and his old Complices that counſel him to that Complyance: Nor is it poſſible for the* Scots *(in the way that they are now in) to be able to ſecure themſelves or* England; *and concludes; that upon this quarrel, if they be ready to fight, his Army attends there for that purpoſe; and therefore the* Scots *cannot complain for want of an opportunity.*

Theſe peſtilent and alike dangerous Papers, (which in effect ſeemed rather an agreement then cauſe of quarrell between the Antagoniſts) were warily conſidered by ſome, even of the Kirk-men who loved the King, as of ſudden & deſperate conſequence to his Majeſties Perſon and Government, ſo highly vilified and diſre-garded; ſo that a Declaration

(to

(to the liking of the Kirk) was extorted from him, that there might no cauſe of pretence remain, either for their obſtinate carriage towards him, or ready compliance with the Enemy.

Hereupon the *Engliſh* Army advanced again, and though ſeveral Bodies of *Scotch* Horſe appeared, yet they preſently withdrew upon their approach; which that it might not be altogether fruſtrate, *Cromwell* in ſight of them cauſed a Garriſon (called *Redhouſe*, within a mile and a half of *Edinburgh*) to be Stormed, wherein were taken 60. Foot, and the Houſe made tenable and manned by the *Engliſh*; while the *Scots* (being neceſſitated for Proviſions, and to joyn with ſome other Forces from *Fife* and the Weſt) had marched two miles beyond *Edixburgh*, having a great Hill on the one ſide, and the City and a River on the other, ſo that it was very hazardous to engage them, being drawn up in Battalia, the great Guns playing on both ſides. In which poſture and attendance the *Scots* and *Engliſh* ſtood, and neither changed ground, till Proviſions growing ſcarce, *Cromwell* retreated to *Pencland-hills* (*Lambert* having had ſome diſcourſe and conference with *Stranghan*, *&c.* about the former equity of their cauſe, *de lana caprina*) and thence with ſome difficulty (by reaſon of bad weather) to *Muſſleborough*, for Provant, and thence a few dayes after to *Dunbar*, with intention by ſhipping or any other way to get into *England*, being now cloſely followed by the *Scotch* Army in their Rear; who rightly gueſſing the *Engliſh* to be weakned with long Marches and want of Victual, made cock-ſure of a total Victory,

which ſnatching at before it was ripe for them, fearing nothing more then that they would eſcape them, they ſaw themſelves miſerably fruſtrated, and their deſpairing Enemy, a moſt inſulting Conqueror.

On *Sunday* at night, the firſt of *September*, the *Engliſh* (making at moſt not above 12000. men) came to *Dunbar*, whither the *Scots* (keeping cloſe at their Heels) came alſo, and drew up their whole Army, conſiſting of between 20. and 24. thouſand men, upon a high Hill within a mile of the Town, to the great amazement at firſt of the *Engliſh*; but diſpair adding reſolution to their courage, they preſently drew out in Battalia in the Corn-field near adjoyning, and ſo ſtood all night, being encamped upon a Neck of Land, whoſe Breadth was not a Mile and a half from Sea to Sea; ſo that they were by Land quite cooped up. In confidence therefore of an aſſured Victory, *David Leſhley* who Commanded this Kirk Army in chief, began to advance as early as the Sun next morning, and drew down the Hill, fixing at the foot thereof, and about 4 a clock in the afternoon brought down his Train, there being a great Ditch betwixt both the Armies. That night the *Engliſh* (by Command) placed themſelves cloſe to the Ditch, and placed their Field-pieces likewiſe in every Regiment, that they might be in a readineſſe in caſe the Enemy ſhould attempt any thing upon them, who were vainly expecting terms of a rendition; boaſting that they had them in a worſe pound then the King had the Earl of *Eſſex* at *Leſtithiell* in *Cornwall*.

The

The Miniſters eſpecially having their voice in the Council of war held by this Kirk Army, moſt earneſtly urged the Engagement and fight (againſt thoſe that were of opinion to let the *Engliſh* eſcape, and not venture the fortune of War upon an Enemy made deſperate of which there were ſo many ſad examples) ſaying that God had delivered *Agag*, meaning *Cromwell*, into their power, and if they let him go, would require him at their hands.

On *Tueſday* morning at four of the Clock, a Brigade of the *Engliſh* Army drew down to poſſeſſe themſelves of a paſs upon the Road, between *Edenburgh* and *Berwick*, which being had, they might with the more eaſe and advantage, make their way home, and in order thereto paſſe over to the Enemy, to fall upon them. This Brigade conſiſted of three Regiments of Horſe, of Major General *Lambert*, Commiſſary General *Whalleys*, and Collonel *Lilburns*, and two of Foot, one whereof was *Prides*. This gave the *Scots* a great Alarum, and a ſore diſpute happened about the paſſe, which laſted above an hour, the great Guns playing in the mean time againſt both the bodies. At length that ſtout Brigade gained and poſſeſſed the paſſe, much gallantry and bravery being ſhewed on both ſides. This paſſe lay at *Copperſpeth* in the *Engliſh* way homewards, to impede which, they had drawn off their beſt Horſe upon the right Wing to receive the *Engliſh*, whoſe Word was the *Lord of Hoſts*, theirs *The Covenant*.

The Enemy charged hereupon with their Lanciers, ſo that the Horſe gave way a little, but immediately rallied, and the foot advancing to ſecond them, the *Scots* were charged ſo home, that they put them preſently to the rout, it being about ſix a Clock in the morning, the left Wing of Horſe without ſtriking one ſtroke, following the ſame way; The Foot ſeeing this rout and flight of the Horſe, and not able in any order by reaſon thereof to engage, were all of a ſudden ſo confuſed and confounded, that without any reſiſtance or offer of Engagement, they threw down their Arms, and fled, giving the *Engliſh* the full purſuit of them above eight miles beyond *Hadington*, only one ſtout Regiment of *Highlanders*, who began the fight, maintained it moſt bravely & fearleſsly after the ruine and rout of their Army till ſcarce 20 of them were left, ſome of them fighting and making uſe of their Swords as they lay wounded upon the ground, to the leſſening the ignominy of that defeat by their ſingular and conſpicuous valour, which hath reared, it ſelf an honourable monument, amidſt the inglorious durt of ſo many Cowards. The number of the ſlain were 4000. 9000 Priſoners, many whereof were deſperately wounded, and 10000 Arms, all their Ammunition, Bag and Baggage: Priſoners of Note were, Sir *James Lumſdale*, Lieutenant Generall of the Army, the Lord *Libberton*, imployed by the States to the King lately, and died of his wounds preſently after the fight at *Dunbar*, Adjutant General *Bickerton*, Scout-maſter *Campbel*, Sir *William Douglaſs*, Lord *Cranſton*, and Collonel *Gurden*;

*Gurous*; 12 Lieutenant Colonels, 6 Majors, 42 Captains, 75 Lieutenants, 17 Cornets, 2 Quarter-maſters, 110 Enſigns, Foot and Horſe Colours 200. 27 Guns, ſome Braſſe, Iron and Leather, with the loſſe of not above 300. *Engliſh*, and one Major *Rookiſly* who died after of his wounds: there was likewiſe taken the Purſe to the great Seal of *Scotland*, which was preſently ſent up to *London*, and the Colours with thoſe taken before at *Preſton*, ordered forthwith to be hung up in *Weſtminſter-hall*; The full Contents of all which, was ſignified in a Letter from the General in his uſuall ſtrain of devout zeal, tending very much to ſtrengthen the *Independent* againſt the *Presbyterian* at home, and the advancement of a pretended Common-wealth to the imitation of the reſt of the World; the latter part thereof for the ſeverer Aſpect it had towards the Miniſtery in favour of *Anabaptiſts*, with which the Army ſwarmed, I have here inſerted.—

*The Miniſters of* Scotland *have hindred the paſſage of thoſe things* (meaning his affection to the good people of *Scotland*) *to thoſe to whom we intended them, and now we ſee that not only the deceived people, but ſome of the Miniſters* (*three or four*) *are fallen in the fight. This is the great hand of the Lord, and worthy of the conſideration of thoſe who taking into their hands the inſtrument of a fooliſh Shepheard, to wit, medling with worldly policies, and mixtures of earthly powers, to ſet up that which they call the Kingdom of Chriſt,* (*which is neither it, nor if it were it, would ſuch be found effectual to that end*) *and neglect, or truſt not to the Word of God, the*

*ſword*

*sword of the Spirit, which is alone able and powerfull to that end, and when trusted to, will be found effectually able, &c.* This is HUMBLY offered for their sakes (*who have lately turned too much aside, that they might return again to Preach Jesus Christ, &c. and then no doubt they will deserve and find your protection and encouragement.*) Which humble offer was to command a strict Inquisition upon them, as those most probable *to obstruct the new module of his future greatnesse.*

The glory of this field thongh it were by his own party ascribed to his valour, yet it laid a great blemish on his Conduct, and indeed the rescue of his honor was principally to be referred to Gen. *Monck*, whose company he had obliged in this expedition, (being very understanding in the choice, and as subtile in the shaking off his Friends and Familiars.) He had newly had a Regiment conferred on him, made up of recruits and other imperfect companies, and did now at the Generals request draw and design the fight, and embattle the Army, and seconded that deliberate speculation with forwardest of action, for which indeed most of the Officers were very praise-worthy. After the fight *Cromwel* used some catching courtesies to the wounded Soldiers, and the feebler sort of Prisoners, (it being his usual injunction to his Chyrurgions, to have as much care of the Enemies sick, as of his own, to oblige their fair report of his victorious Generosity) but the poor *High-landers* and such like, paid dear for that partial kindnesse shewed their Country-men, as many as with difficulty escaped

ſcaped Famine being ſold for ſlaves, to the *American* Iſlands.

On the fourteenth of *September*, General *Cromwell* marched out of *Edenburgh* with 7 dayes proviſion, for the *Scots* had not left any manner of ſubſiſtance betwixt that and *Sterling*, and on the 15. reached beyond *Linlithgow*, but through bad weather was conſtrained to retreat thither that night for ſhelter, the 16. to *Falkirk* within a mile of *Sterling*, from whence freſh Letters of the old ſtrain were ſent into that City, but the Trumpeter was not ſuffered to enter, whereupon order was given for a ſtorm, but upon better thoughts of the danger, forborn, ſo that on the 19. of *September* they returned to *Linlithgow* (whither came Gen. *Dean* to him from Shipboard, being newly arrived at *Leith*, in the *Speaker* Frigot) and fortified the Town, being the road way betwixt *Edenburgh* and *Sterling*, and a ſufficient Garriſon was left to maintain it, and on the 22. the *Engliſh* returned to *Edenburgh*, where Coll. *Whalley* had offered the Miniſters fled to the Caſtle, leave to come out and Preach in their ſeveral Pariſhes, but they refuſed: Another Cajole to the Kirk.

*Cromwell* encamping and traverſing hereabouts with his Army, but not being able to effect any thing againſt the main Army of the Kings that lay on *Sterling-ſide*, reſolved to be doing with a Party that then lay in the Weſt of *Scotland*, under the Command of the Collonels *Ker* and *Straughan*, with whom *Cromwel* had maintained an open intercourſe, and had proffered them a Ceſſation; driving

ving at this, to take them off and ſubdivide the Nation in ſeveral parties, and the effect of his Papers, taxing the *Scots* with the admiſſion of the King upon the old Malignant ſcore, did operate as he projected; for thereupon out comes a Declaration or Remonſtrance from theſe Weſtern fellowes, full of ſaucy and treaſonable language, which accordingly was voted both by the Commiſſioners of the Kirk, and the Committee of Eſtates to be ſcandalous and ſeditious, Sir *James Stuart*, and Sir *John Cheiſly*, and one Mr. *Leviſton* (who ſeemed to countenance it) were ſtrictly watched, and *Straughan* taken and made Priſoner in *Dunbarton*, and after in *Cathenes-caſtle*, whence he eſcaped and came over to the *Engliſh* at *Edenburgh*: but 'twas more the *ſacred hunger* of Gold than zeal for Religion, made him firſt betray his King and his Country after, and we ſhall ſee all *Cromwell's* Proſelytes of that Nation, both *Dundaſſe*, *Warreſton*, and *Giffan*, to love nothing ſo much as the Mammon of *Presbytery*.

*Straughan* thus removed, Major Gen. *Lambert* was ſent to prevail with *Ker*, either by blows or words, the latter being thought as feiſible as the former, and accordingly on the laſt of *November*, having difficultly found, and paſſed a Ford over *Hambleton* River, *Ker* got notice of it, and reſolutely fell in to the Major Generals Quarters at a Town of that name; but the Horſe being in a readineſſe to receive him, he loſt a 100. Men, had his right hand almoſt cut off, and was taken Priſoner, and the reſt of his party being five Regiments of Horſe,

Horſe, two whereof were the Earl of *Caſſells*, and Lord *Kirconbrights*, purſued as far as *Ayre*, where Commiſſary General *Whalley* was now left to command in chief in thoſe Weſtern parts. *Cromwell* had marched with his Army this way as far as *Glaſgow*, in *October*, but underſtanding or dreading the Enemy would come and relieve *Edenburgh-Caſtle*, with Proviſions and another Governour (being in Treaty with the preſent for a ſumme of money) he forthwith retired; having there took and Garriſoned two Houſes, while Coll. *Whalley* took in *Dalkeith*, and another neſt of *Moſſe-Troopers*, yet his coming thither hindred Major Gen. *Mountgomery* from marching into thoſe parts, to reduce *Ker* likewiſe to his obedience to the King.

*Edinburgh-Caſtle* had been beſieged ſome Months and upwards, with little loſs on either ſide, ſave that the great Guns from the Caſtle did ſome Miſchief in *Edinburgh-ſtreets*, and one Captain *Hamilton* was ſhot in the hea with a Muſquet, as he was viewing the Caſtle, and the Morter-pieces made ſemblance of great terrour and annoyance to the beſieged; a Mine was likewiſe carried on ſome 60. foot, the Stone being cut all the way; but then they could proceed no further, being come to the Rock whereon the Caſtle ſtands: Nevertheleſſe the *Derbyſhire* Miners (being 12. in number) did what they could to proceed, the Enemy throwing Pitch and Flax, and other combuſtible ſtuff into the Works. At laſt the perſonated Hoſtility came to a period, and *Dundaſſe* old *Levens* Son in Law, pretending want of Water, offered a Parley, and having premiſed

a colourable requeſt of ten dayes time, to ſend to the Committee of Eſtates, by whom he ſaid he was intruſted, which he knew was to be denyed; after ſeveral miſſives betwixt *Cromwell* and him, concluded the rendition of that moſt important place to the Kings Service, in theſe Articles agreed on, betwixt Major *Abernethy Dundaſſes* man, and Capt. *Henderſon* on one ſide, and Coll. *Monck*, and L. Coll. *White* on the other, (it was alwayes before called the *Maiden*, it may henceforth be called the *Proſtitute-Caſtle*) the Articles were as follow.

*That the Caſtle ſhould be ſurrendred to his Excellency* Oliver Cromwell, *with all the Ordinances, Arms, Magazine, and Furniture of War thereunto belonging, on* Tueſday *the* 24. *of* December. 2. *That the Governour, Officers, and Soldiers, ſhould march with Drums beating, &c. in military poſture, to ſuch place as they ſhall appoint.* 3. *The publique moveables, private writs and evidences to be removed to* Sterling. 4. *That Proclamation ſhould be made for all that had goods in the Caſtle, to come or ſend, to own and receive them.* 5. *All ſick Officers and Soldiers, as well ſuch as hurt (in reputation) to have liberty to ſtay in* Edinburgh, *and the* Engliſh *to provide Horſes and Wagons for the Governour and other Officers, and Hoſtages to be given on the* Scots *part for performance.*

There were found in it Five French Cannon, nine Dutch half Cannon, two Culverings, two demi Culverings, two Minions, two Falcons, twenty eight Braſs Drakes, called Monkeys, two Petards, betwixt ſeven and eight thouſand Arms, neer 80 Barrel

Barrels of Powder, and a like ſtore of Cannon ſhot: Col. *Fenwick*, was preſently upon the ſurrender, made Governour of this and *Leith*; Sir *Arthur Haſterigge*, and Mr. *Scot* were preſent at the rendition thereof, and then departed, their work being done; which that it may appear for a piece of the vileſt treachery any *Scot* ever committed (though *Cromwell* aſcribes it in his Letter to the Speaker, to the alone Wiſdome of God beyond all humane power and accompliſhment) take this account from the Lovers themſelves of this Treaſon at *Edenburgh*. *The greateſt want they had was of Beer, but as for Oatmeal Butter Freſh Water, and Salt meat, they had enough, the Maſter Gunner told me, that when our Guns were a drawing to the Batteries, he had ſo placed his Pieces, that ours could not poſſibly have been planted without great loſs, but when he prepared to give fire, he was forbidden by the Governour upon pain of Death. His man* Abernethy *went often out of the Caſtle, upon pretence of getting Intelligence*, (but it was to hold it with *Cromwell*) *ſure it is, that* Dundaſs *and he and ſome others were a little wiſer and went not over the water as they had made conditions, ſome of thoſe that did being impriſoned (the Court and Camp being ſadly affected with this loſs) The Provoſt of* Edenburgh, *Sir* James Stuart *is in Town, but keeps private, leſt the Wives in the Street ſhould abuſe him as they did* Straughan *and* Ker *at their coming hither, the Lord* Warreſton *who came as he pretended for the Records is not yet returned, but ſtays in Town, for he cares not to go back, He and the reſt of that Remonſtrant Tribe*

*are*

*are ſummoned to come to Parliament*, *Coll.* Dundaſs, Straughan, *and Captain* Giffan, *with* Abernethy, Swinton, *and* Andrews, *were elſe to be excommunicated and declared Traytors*, *which was done* Jan. 14. *Mr.* James Guthry, *and the Earl of* Lothian, *and Gen.* Holborn *were generally ſuſpected*, *with Sir* John Chieſly, *who are every day expected in our quarters*, Rutherford *and* Gilleſpy *are likewiſe Diſſenters from the preſent manage of Affairs*. *Ker* ſaith, his wound on his right hand is Gods juſtice againſt him, for lifting it up againſt us in ſuch a cauſe as he maintained. And ſo I will conclude all thoſe treaſonable practiſes, and fomented diviſions of that Nation againſt their common intereſt by this Maſter of all Treacherous Arts.

*Cromwell* was again very earneſt and intent upon making or finding a way by *Sterling*, and therefore on the 8. of *February* he marched thither again, having been informed of ſome Fords thereabouts where he might paſs his Army, or at leaſt impede their raiſing of new Forces, and way lay their marching into *England*, which was given out as the grand deſign, a Force being left on that ſide the water, ſufficient to ſuſtain any impreſſion of the *Engliſh*; and to that expedition Duke *Hamilton*, Duke of *Buckingham*, Lord *Cleaveland*, *Wentworth*, *Wilmot*, and Col. *Maſſey*, who had a noble and full Regiment and was to be Major General, with the noble and moſt Loyal Cap. *Titus*, & Col. *Graves* were deſigned. *Cromwel* as was ſaid, to this purpoſe, in very tempeſtuous weather reached his intended paſſes, but found the approaches to them ſo boggy & unpaſſable,

ble, that in the same stress of weather, his Army half spoiled with cold, and other discommodities, he was forced to retire again as he had done twice before, (having only alarumed the *Scots*, and put them into a sudden posture of defence) to *Glasgow*, and to await the time of his Boats Arrival and a happier season of the year.

This was the Seat of Rebellion in that Kingdom, and very fit for his Head Quarters, and University also; which remembers me that *Cromwell* a little while before was chosen Chancellor of *Oxford*, and honored hereabouts with the publick Seal thereof, on purpose to stave off the rapinous sacrilegious hands of the Parliament, who were a hammering upon an Act for the Sale of Colledge-Lands, to carry on their Wars; and *Cromwell* did (as was well projected) undertake their preservation, and did express some angry resentment at the Parliament for this Barbarity, laying his hand as usual upon his Sword; Moreover he did promise to defend and maintain them against all such base and wicked Attempts by whomsoever, and that not without a Menace to the Authority should design it, against whom he was very ready & willing to provide himself of Crimes, Accusations, and such notorious & invidious Complaints: besides that it made the University a sure friend to him, which was as considerable as half the Kingdom, & this was a borrowed Policy practiced by all the disputed rights and Titles to the Crown. There was this remarkable, that the Delegates of the University declared not their main design till they had given him his Oath as Chancellor, which was

thought of little security, but only that the solemnity of it might the better mind him to whom he had given it. Hence after some debates and publick disputes with the Ministers, *viz. Gillespy*, *Rutherford*, &c. of *Glascow* aforesaid, concerning the lawfulnesse of his Invasion, which he performed (as he said) in much weakness of (both Argument and) body; seeing there was no drawing the Scot out that way to fight, which way they intended for an undisturbed March, marched back to *Edenburgh* by the beginning of *May*, (and in his way burned down the Lady *Kilsythes* house, for holding intelligence with the King) having notice of the Arrival of his Boats at *Leith*, for the transportation of his Army into *Fife*; which was the last remedy; the failure of Victuals in the Scotch camp, which therefore they should be forced to abandon and march, proving a meer delusion.

*Cromwell* being at *Edinburgh*, having notice how the King lay encamped at *Sterling*, *Leshly*'s Foot quartering on the Southside, and *Middleton* on the North side of the Park, encompassed with a Stone Wall; and that abundance of Provision was brought in daily, supposing they would march; drew all his remaining forces out of the West with as much care and conduct as could be, and encamped likewise in the Fields by *Edinburgh* in a readinesse for them, whither to march or fight: But in the mean time, he was taken very ill of his Ague, so that Doctor *Wright* and Doctor *Bates* two eminent Physicians, were sent down to attend his Cure, and many blith and anxious discourses were made concerning his

death

death, as either party wished, for he was brought very low; but being recovered to some degree of health by these Gentlemen, it was presently sounded like a Proclamation; and I have therefore thought fit to transcribe a piece of the Letter, that the world may see what queer Hypocrites his Attendants, like himself and his Times were, by the pious nonsense and most blasphemous flattery of this Apocrypha Epistle. If I knew the Secretary or Inditer, I would record him for his Pen, ----- *Truly Sir, his Life and Health are exceeding precious, and I account it every day a greater mercy then other that we have his Life, observing that every dispensation of God draws him nearer to himself, and makes him more heavenly and holy, and by consequence more useful for his Generation, in the management of that power, which God hath committed to him*, &c.

This Occasion of his Sickness, minds me of one passage of his Life, wherein was a *Ray* or *Specimen* of his *Humanity*. He had a Servant a *Frenchman*, one *Drury*, that attended him in his Chamber, whom of all his Retainers he best loved, and would hardly brook his absence out of his Sight, whether for that he could more freely communicate his Privacies to a Forraigner, who was altogether unconcerned in them, and therefore of a greater secresie and confidence; or for his diligence and care of his person, set off with his national fondnesses, and insinuations. This fellow dying not long after, *Cromwell* did passionately grieve thereat, and for the memory of this his dear Servant, made ample Provisions by a Pension for his relations, which continued during his

Uſurpation. At laſt with much ado by the helps of Phyſick, and the eſpecial conſtant attendance of thoſe Doctors ſent him, and charged with his preſervation by the Parliament; *Cromwell* fully revived to theirs (afterwards) as well as the Kingdoms ſorrow.

The *Engliſh* Army in *Scotland*, was now in motion for graſs, and marched upon their old deſign of *Sterling* to *Newbridge*, to to *Lithgow*, from whoſe Caſtle Battlements, they might eſpy the Tents of the *Scotch* Army encamped in *Torwood* 4 miles of this ſide *Sterling*, (whither his Creature *Warreſton* was now ſummoned by the Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly peremptorily by the third of *July*) having caſt up a regular and well fortified line with Bulworks mounted with Guns, and having a River behind them, which they might paſſe at pleaſure; in this poſture they awaited the *Engliſh*, who coming up and facing them on the third of *July*, in the night following the *Scots* drew up their Cannon, and planted them on the brow of the Hill, and next morning ſaluted *Cromwell* with 50. great Guns, but with little Execution, which made him quickly draw out of ſhot, and give over his once begun reſolution of attaquing them at ſo much diſadvantage. The *Engliſh* therefore marched back again, Major General *Lambert* being ſent from *Glaſcow* a week after to view the paſſes, which he reported by reaſon of the boggy approches there, to be very hazzardous. Upon their departure from *Lithgow* to *Glaſcow*, the *Scots* removed from *Torwood*, and encamped at *Kilſith*, a place environed with inſuperable defences,

defences, having a Bog on one hand, and craggy Mountains on the other; but the *Engliſh* Army (having eaten up all at *Glaſgow* and thoſe parts, and trod down the Corn ſtanding, that the *Scots* might find no ſuſtenance that way, if they ſhould march) appearing and marching with great noiſe, on the other ſide, they imagining the *Engliſh* meant to clap in between them and *Sterling*, haſtened back again to their old line at *Torwood*, *July* 13. whither *Cromwell* followed, and to provoke them to an Engagement, ſtormed *Calender-houſe* in their view, and put all the Defendants except the Governour, to the Sword, and then ſeeing there was no poſſibility of fighting with them, but that they were reſolved to keep them in play, till Winters ſcarcity of Horſe-meat ſhould make them give over and depart the Kingdom, he encamped himſelf, awaiting the ſucceſſe of his deſign by Boat into *Fife*.

While *Cromwell* thus attended the *Scots* at *Torwood*, within a mile and a half of them at *Falkirk*, at length the long expected ſucceſſe of a tranſportation into *Fife* manifeſted it ſelf: for Col. *Overton* with 1400. Foot of his own, and Col. *Daniels* Regiment, with four Troops of Horſe of Col. *Lydcots*, having with the loſs of a few men gained a place called *North-ferry* on the other ſide the *Frith*, on the 17. of *July*, had as the time ſerved intrenched themſelves; and before the *Scotch* Army then beyond *Sterling*, could reach them with a ſufficient force to drive them out, Major Gen. *Lambert* was paſſed over to them, it being an Arm of the Sea, and had defeated Sir *John Brown* with 4000. men;

the ſucceſſe and great conſequence of which, and the ſaid tranſportation, I will briefly ſum up in *Cromwells* Letter.

'In purſuance of the providence of God, and 'that bleſſing lately given to your Forces in *Fife*, 'and finding that the Enemy being Maſters of the 'Paſſe at *Sterling*, could not be gotten out there 'without hindering his Proviſions at St. *Johnſtons*, 'we by general adviſe thought fit to attempt Saint '*Johnſtons*, knowing that that would neceſſitate him 'to quit his Paſſe; wherefore leaving with Major 'Gen. *Harriſon* about 3000. Horſe and Dragoons 'beſides thoſe which are with Col. *Rich*, Col. *Saun-*'*ders*, and Col. *Barton*, upon the Borders, we march-'ed to St. *Johnſtons*, and lying one day before it, 'we had it ſurrendred to us; during which time we 'had ſome intelligence of the Enemies marching 'Southward, though with ſome contradiction as if 'it had not been ſo; but doubting it might be true, 'leaving a Garriſon in St. *Johnſtons*, and ſending L. 'Gen. *Monck* with 5, or 6000. men to *Sterling* to 'reduce that place, and by it to put your affairs into 'a good poſture in *Scotland*. We marched with all 'poſſible expedition back again, and have paſſed 'our Foot and many of our Horſe over the *Frith* 'this day; reſolving to make what ſpeed we can up 'up to the Enemy; who in this deſperation and fear 'and out of inevitable neceſſity is run to try what 'he can do this way. I do apprehend that, if he goes 'for *England*, being ſome few dayes march before 'us, it will trouble ſome mens thoughts, and may 'occaſion ſome inconveniencies, of which I hope

'we

'we are as deeply ſenſible, and have, and I truſt
'ſhall be as diligent to prevent as any; and indeed
'this is our comfort, that in ſimplicity of heart as
'to God, we have done to the beſt of our judge-
'ments, knowing that if ſome Iſſue were not put to
'this buſineſſe, it would occaſion another Winters
'War to the ruine of your Souldiery, for whoſe
'the Winter-difficulties of this Country, are too
'hard, and be under the endleſſe expence of the
'Treaſure of *England*, in proſecuting this War.

'It may be ſuppoſed we might have kept the En-
'emy from this, by interpoſing between him
'and *England*, which truly I believe we might, but
'how to remove him out of this place without doing
'what we have done, unleſſe we had had a com-
'manding Army on both ſides the River of *Frith*,
'is not clear to us, or how to anſwer the inconve-
'niencies aforementioned we underſtand not; we
'pray therefore, that ſeeing there is a poſſibility for
'the Enemy to put you to ſome trouble you would
'with the ſame courage (grounded upon a confi-
'dence in God) wherein you have been ſupported
'to the great things in which God hath uſed you
'heretofore, improve the beſt you can ſuch Forces
'as you have in readineſſe, or may on the ſudden
'be got together to give the Enemy ſome check,
'until we ſhall be able to reach up to him, which
'we truſt in the Lord we ſhall do our utmoſt ende-
'vour in; and indeed we have this comfortable ex-
'periment from the Lord, that this Enemy is hear-
'ſmitten by God, and whenever the Lord ſhall
'bring us up to them, we believe the Lord will

'make the desperateneſſe of this Councel of theirs
'to appear, and the folly of it alſo; when *England*
'was much more unſteady then now, and when a
'much more conſiderable Army of theirs unfoiled,
'invaded you and we had but weak force to make
'reſiſtance at *Preſton*, upon deliberate advice, we
'choſe rather to put our ſelves between their Army
'and *Scotland*, and how God ſucceeded that, is not
'well to be forgotten.

'This is not out of choice on our part, but by
'ſome kind of neceſſity, and it is to be hoped will
'have the like iſſue, together with a hopeful end of
'your work, in which it's good to wait upon the Lord,
'upon the earneſt of former experiences, and hope
'of his preſence, which only is the Life of your
'Cauſe. Major Gen. *Harriſon*, with the Horſe
'and Dragoons under him, and Collonel *Rich* and
'and the reſt in thoſe parts, ſhall attend the moti-
'on of the Enemy, and endevour the keeping of
'them together, as alſo to impede his March, and
'will be ready to be in conjunction with what For-
'ces he ſhall get together for this Service, to whom
'Orders have been ſpeeded to that purpoſe, as this
'enclosed to Major General *Harriſon* will ſhew.
'Major General *Lambert* this day marched with a
'very conſiderable Body of Horſe up towards the
'Enemies Reer; with the reſt of the Horſe and
'nine Regiments of Foot (moſt of them of your
'old Foot and Horſe) I am haſting up, and ſhall
'by the Lords help, uſe the utmoſt diligence:
'I hope I have left a Commanding Force under
'Lieutenant Generall *Monck* in *Scotland*. This

'account

'account I thought my duty to speed to you, and 'rest

Leith, 4 Auguſt 1651. *Your moſt humble Servant* O. Cromwell.

This ſhews what ſudden troubled apprehenſions He had of this well deſigned March of the Kings, and made him repent his obſtinacy of honour in reducing St. *Johnſtons*, by which the King got three days March of him; but however he excuſed this to the Parliament (who were almoſt in deſpair, and terribly affrighted at the News of it) yet they did highly tax him for his negligence even to ſuſpicion, and ſpoke ill words of him, which came to his ears, and for which he ſoon after cryed quits with them.

The King departed from *Sterling* the laſt of *July*, and came into *England* by the way of *Carliſle*, and upon his firſt footing there was Proclaimed righteſull King of *Great Britain*, and did thereupon publiſh his Declaration, wherein He offered his free Grace and Pardon (to be confirmed by an Act thereafter) to all his Subjects of *England*, of what ever nature or crime their offences were, excepting *Cromwell*, *Bradſhaw*, and *Cook*, the more immediate principall Murtherers of His Father; and therewith proſecuted his March, being proclaimed in the ſame manner through all the Towns he paſſed.

On the 22. of *Auguſt*, the Van of the Kings Army entred *Worceſter*, ſome reſiſtance being attempted to be made by ſome new raiſed Forces under one Collonel *James*, and by the influence of

Baron *Wild*, but the Townsmen saved them the labour of driving them out, and most joyfully welcomed these weary Guests, and such too as in 1645. had been extremely oppressive and intolerably burdensome at the Siege of *Hereford*; but their gladness at the Kings presence, and hope of his Restitution, obliterated all other considerations and remembrances whatsoever. The Mayor and his Brethren at the Kings *Intrado* did Him the customary but most chearful obeysances, tendring him the Keys and the Mace upon their Knees, and bidding Him and his Forces welcome to this his Majesties Ancient and Loyal City, where the same day with great solemnity he was anew Proclaimed, and the tired Soldiers most abundantly provided for, being in all *Scotch* and *English* some 14000. who had marched 300. miles outright in three weeks.

In the mean time the Parliament had amassed a numerous Militia in all the Counties of *England* and glad were the Members that the King stayed for them, for nothing was more dreaded then his continued march to *London*, which place would have soon ridded their fears, upon an approach of the Kings Army but 30. miles further from *Worcester*, but to prevent that, as *Essex* did before at the beginning of the War (whose first efforts took this way) *Cromwell* by long Marches through *Newcastle*, *Rippon*, *Ferrybrigg*, *Doncaster*, *Mansfield*, and *Coventry*, had interposed himself, and joyned with his Army at *Kenton*, where a Genetal Councel of all his Officers was held, and a speedy advance to *Worcester* resolved on, Lieutenant General *Fleetwood* being

being dispatched to bring up his Forces, then on their way at *Banbury*, the grosse of all the Forces amounting to above 50000. effective, Militia and all.

By this time *Cromwell* had surrounded the City of *Worcester* with his spreading Host, in as near a compasse as the Rivers and Passes would suffer him, the Kings Army as yet lying out of the Town a mile in the fields. The first passe endeavoured to be taken, was *Upton-Bridge* on *Flex* side, which Major General *Lambert* attempted with 500. Horse and Dragoons, who unespied crept upon their Bellies on a peice of Timber they had laid over the River, which the surprizing Assailants after a brisk dispute wrested from Collonel *Massey*. The *Scots* having thus abandoned the place, it was presently possest by a strong Party of Horse and Foot, in order to the present advance of the rest of the Army.

The *Scots* now drawn closer to *Worcester* made many Sallies, breaking down 2. or 3. Bridges over the River *Team*, and shewing a well ordered and governed courage; but *Septem.* the third, that ominous day, he drew out from his own Post (and having given the signal to the whole Army to fall on) began the Fight in this manner.

*Cromwell* himself in person (about 3. a Clocke with his Life guard, and Collonel *Hackers* Regiment of Horse, with part of his own Regiment, and Collonel *Ingoldsby's*, and *Fairfax's* entire) passed over his Bridge of Boats upon the *Severn*, and marched towards the City, after him, Lieut. Gen. *Fleet-*

*Fleetwood*, who had been most part of that day marching of 5. miles from *Upton* to *Powick-Bridge*, which the Kings Army had broken down, passed with Colonel *Goff's* and Major General *Dean's* Regiments and joyntly advanced, the Kings Forces encountring them at the Hedges, and disputing every field with them, in such order and with such gallantry, that these already over (lest they should not be wholly discouraged with the hotnesse of the service) were relieved by reserves, and they by others, no considerable progresse yet made, the Highlanders proving excellent Firemen, and coming to the But-end at every foot, till weary, and their Ammunition spent, the King being then upon the place, Commanded them in some hast into the City, and hastned himself to the other side, where Colonel *Hayns* Regiment, with *Cobbets* stood about *Powick-bridge*, and were entertained with no lesse Manhood and Slaughter, and though Coll. *Matthews* was the reserve to the other two Regiments, yet did the *Scotch* Foot fairly drive them from their ground, till their little Army being every way engaged, and no seconds or supplies to be expected, after some wheelings in a careless regard of the Enemy, as if they feared not to make which way they pleased, they drew likewise into the Town as did that Brigade which opposed the Regiments of the Lord *Gray*, Colonel *Blagus*, *Gibbons*, and *Marsh*.

But they stayed not long here, for as if their pent spirits had broke out with greater fury, they sallied out in great bodies upon *Cromwell's* post, who had

now

now brought the *Militia* forces into play, the Veterans wisely detreeting to engage first upon the storm which was then intended, but there was yet field matter enough to do. In the Head of one of those Squadrons, the King himself charged with that gallantry which would have become our admiration in other men, and shewed he had not forgot the Disciplihe of War, in which he had been brought up in his youth; In one of those Charges he made, Duke *Hamilton* a better Soldier, and nobler gallanter person then his Brother, received a shot on his Thigh, whereof presently after he dyed. The loss that way sustained by the Enemy, fell principally upon the *Essex* Foot, and those of *Cheshire* and *Surrey*, who returned in thin Troops and Companies to their Counties; but fresh and entire Brigades and Regiments, in Reserves, namely *Desborough's* Regiment of Horse, *Cromwel's* of Horse, Major General *Lambert's* of Horse, *Whaley's*, *Harrison's* and *Tomlinson's* Brigades, with other foot re-inforcing them; the *Scots* by the overpowering multitude were driven into the Town, *Lesbley* with 2000 Horse (upon what acconnt not known) not stirring out of the Town to relieve them, when the Enemy entred pell mell with them, and gained the Fort Royal about 7. a Clock at night, about which time the King left the Town it being dark, and accompanied with some 60. Horse of the chiefest and most confident of his Retinue, though many more pressed to bear him Company, departed out of St. *Martins-gate*, and it was reported that *Cobbet* very narrowly Mist him, as the King left his Lodging whether he first hastned.

The

The Enemies Foot was now got into the Town, and according to their Order fell a plundering the Town in a most barbarous manner, as if Turks were again a *Sacking* of *Constantinople*, and giving no quarter to any they found in the Streets: through this their greedines of spoil, they kept the Horse out lest they should have shared the better part, and to that purpose kept the Gates fast as they were, and so favoured (as God would have it) the Kings escape, some Scots who had got into one of the Churches held out till next morning, when they obtained quarter for Life, by which time there was not an Inhabitant in *Worcester* friend or foe, left worth a farthing; but the Loyal Inhabitants lost little by the Bargain, being supplied with fresh wares to their desires from *London*, without a Scruple of credit or paiment, and their Debts forborn till such time as God should enable them, which the Gentry and Inhabitants round about them endevoured to bring to passe, by their more then ordinary resort to that Market, for all necessaries and upon all occasions. The Mayor (being Knighted by the King) and Aldermen were committed to Prison, and the Wife of one *Guyes* (who for betraying the designs of the King in that Garrison was hanged) was rewarded with 200. *l. per annum*, and 200 *l.* down.

There were slain in the Field and in Town (in the last the most) and in pursuit some 3000. and some 8000. taken prisoners in several places, most of the *English* escaping by their *Shiboleth*, the principal were Duke *Hamilton*, (who presently dyed of his wounds) and at *Newport* the Earl of *Lauderdale*,

derdale, Earl of Rothes, Earl of Carnworth, Earl of Kelly, Earl of Derby, Earl of Cleveland, the now Earl of Shrewsbury, Sir John Packington, Lord Spyne, Sir Ralph Clare, Sir Charles Cunningham, Colonel Graves, Mr. Richard Fanshaw Secretary to the King, 6 Col. of Horſe, 13 of Foot, 9 Lieutenants Colonels of Horſe, 8 Lieutenants Colonels of Foot, 6 Majors of Horſe, 13 Majors of Foot, 37 Captains of Horſe, 72 Captains of Foot, 55 Quartermaſters, 89 Lieutenants; there were ſome General Officers, with 76 Cornets of Horſe, 99 Enſigns of Foot, 90 Quartermaſters, 80 of the Kings ſervants, with the Kings Standard which he had ſet up when he ſummoned the Country, the Kings Coach and Horſes, and Collar of SS. but that which was Ten times more then all the Kings perſon, they had no power to touch.

On the 12. of *Sept. Cromwell* came to *London*, and was met about *Acton* with the Speaker and the Members, and the Lord Mayor and the Recorder *Steel*, who in a ſet Speech congratulated his great Succeſſes, and like a falſe Prophet, by a miſtaken Prolepſis, applied theſe words of the Pſalmiſt, ----- *To bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in Fetters of Iron*, in an arrogant Exaltation of his Atcheivements: Next day the common Priſoners (being driven like a Herd of Swine) were brought through *Weſtminſter* into *Tuthill-fields*, (a ſadder Spectacle was never ſeen, except the miſerable place of their defeat) and there ſold to ſeveral Merchants, and ſent to *Barbadoes*: the Colours taken were likewiſe ſet up in *Weſtminſter-hall*, with

with those taken before at *Preston* and *Dunbar*.

He had now passed and surmounted all the difficulties and troubles that the Interest of the Crown hitherto threatned, and nothing was wanting to the Completion of his Aims, but the Kings person most miraculously preserved and rescued to the perpetual disquiet and vexation of this *would-be-Monarch*. But because that sacred story ought not to be blasphemed with the impiety of his, I will not mingle any of those blessed Providences of his Escape, with the direful designments of *Cromwell's unobstructed passage* to the Throne.

For having superated all *outward* appearances of danger to his ultimate design, there remained nothing but a wretched and hated *Junto* of Men with whom he was next to grapple; things so slighted by him, and their Authority so scorned after this discomfiture of the King, that he never vouchsafed them a good look. Nay publickly express'd his resentments of their saucy expostulations of his conduct about the Kings March for *England*, which was mentioned before.

And therefore at his first coming into the House, (where he was entertained by the Speaker, with the second part of *Steel's Panegyrick*) a motion was started for a new Representative, and all the Codlings and Embryo's of *Triploe* and *Newmarket-Heaths* Engagements afresh resumed, and those Army expedients for which so many Levellers had suffered now again revived, acknowledged and applauded for the only conducing means to the long expected settlement.

The

The main whereof was the Propoſal of a new Repreſentative to be equally choſen to ſucceed the preſent Parliament. A moſt abhominated and deprecated evil by the Members, who having done ſo much miſchief and incurred ſo much deteſtation for practiſing his and their mutual deſigns upon the beſt Government and the moſt incomparable Prince in the World, were almoſt at their wits end with madneſſe at *his*, and invention of *their (contra)* devices.

While theſe things were debating amongſt them, and every day produced ſome freſh altercation and quarrel about diſſolving this and chooſing of a new Repreſentative, which the Soldiers not only from their former principle as *Engliſh* Freemen but now as the Generals *Janizaries*, and in obedience to his dictates and commands, with the pretenſory advice of his Council of Officers unanimouſly and readily urged, (for he had brought the Army to his Bow, and diſciplined them to a moſt exact ignorant devotion and obedience to his ſervice during the *Scotch* War, where the diſtance of the Commonwealth-men could not reach:) his ſecond ſelf his Son in Law *Ireton* died in *Ireland*, juſt as he was coming to the fruition of thoſe grand projections they had both conſpired. He had employed his Vice-governmept after *Cromwell*'s departure in reducing places held for the King, there being no field Service ever after.

He ſurvived not the total Conqueſt of *Ireland*, to which he was by compact & *Oliver*'s *Bull* decreed, but ſaw a very fair proſpect thereof in the rendition

of *Limbrick* and the expected delivery of *Galloway*: and since this concerned *Cromwell* and the Agreement between them (which is most certain though none of those secret compacts are discoverable) I will give the Reader his Character, and this short account of his decease here.

*Limrick* being taken, *Ireton* marched to joyn with Sir *Charles Coot* to attempt something further, & together took in *Clare* Castle, but the weather not proving so seasonable, and the Soldiers tired with duty at the Siege of *Limrick*, they parted into Winter Quarters, *Ireton* back again to *Limrick*, in the way whither he fell sick on the 15. of *November*, and after purging and bleeding and other means used, died of the Plague in that City on the 27. of the same month, the Commissioners for the Parliament, there substituting to his command in the Army (while the Parliament or General (for *Cromwell* was lately so made of *Ireland*) should otherwise appoint) *Edmund Ludlow* the Lieutenant General of the Army in that Kingdome. On the 17. of *December* his Carcasse was landed at *Bristol*, and pompously dismiss'd to *London*, where it was for a time in state at *Summerset-House*, all hung with Black, and a Scutcheon over the Gate with this Motto, *Dulce est pro Patria mori*, how suitable, that Countryman best told who Englished it in these words, *it is good for his Country that he is dead:* on *Feb.* 6. following he was interred in *H.* 7. Chappel (being carried out with a pompous Funeral, at which *Cromwell* was chief Mourner, and the Members of the *Junto* attendants in black with a great deal of State,) but

hath

hath since found a fitter repository for his accursed dust. It was believed by the Army who did credite their own conjectures and others impostures for want of literature, that he was a perfect Common-wealths-man, and would have withstood his Father in Law in his Ambitious intrusions upon the Parliament, and this because he was the Drawer or Promoter of all the Levelling Fundamentals, but he prevented their *riper* and truer *judgement* by appearing to a greater and most exact *Tribunal*, and *perished* with *rottennesse* in the *maturity* of his, and this his *Compeers* design.

He was absolutely the best prayer-maker and Preacher in the Army, for which he may thank his Education at *Oxford*, though *Oliver* came but little behind him, being very frequent and instant, now especially, in such devotions, out of all season and reason, but it was all one to the Soldiers who had nothing else to do but to *Prey* and to *Pray*. The other qualities and conditions of *Ireton* were so congenial with *Olivers*, that in the prosecution of his story I shall but tell the same things, the *evil spirit* after his decease being doubled upon him by a mischeivous *Metempsychosis*, a transmigration of soul, which assimilated their Ashes in the same grave at *Tyburne*.

The fortune of this grand atchievement at *Worcester*, had subjugated all the Dominions of the *English* Soveraignty entirely under the power of the free States, the Isles of *Scilly*, *Man*, *Barbadoes*, & *Christophers*, submitting & acknowledging their jurisdiction, which were reckoned by *Cromwell* but the Tro-

phees due to his valour and the reward of his labour; and therefore all things thus flattering his conceits of Majesty, He was angry with himself for permitting those delayes to his eager Ambition, now complemented, smoothed and tyred by many fine and pretty Evasions of the Members, who wanted not most just pretences to detain the Government from his handling; but of this presently.

There was another thing in his eye which troubled him most of all, and respited and superseded his design upon the *Rump*, which was the Illustrious Duke of *Glouceſter* then a Prisoner at *Carisbrook-Castle*, the Prison of his Father and the Custody of himself; so long therefore as that Prince should continue here, he could not expect that a single person could be opposed to his right, without manifest danger from all parties, who to be revenged of their injuries would rather comply with the Royal Family then suffer his bold Usurpation. Therefore to quit himself of that fear, he procured by his Party in the Parliament (who were resolved to dispose of him here in some ordinary profession, to make Majesty more contemptible in the sight of Men) that for the lessening the Charge of the Common-wealth, the said Duke should be transported into some place beyond Sea, with a promised Exhibition of some scorned Pension.

The Noble Duke being accordingly removed to the great content and joy of his relations, who dreaded his Murther, and the satisfaction of *Cromwell* who was Gorged with his Royal Fathers, another danger returned from beyond Sea in exchange

of

of that exported: for the *Dutch* gave manifest Symptomes of a Rupture with this new Commonwealth, whose insolent depredations at sea had molested and greatly damnified their Trade, and braved them to a revenge, upon a pique taken from their rejecting their offers of a Treaty and Amity and suffering their Ambassadours *St John* and *Strickland* to be affronted at the *Hague* while the affairs of the King in *Scotland*, were yet in suspense.

It was therefore a hazardous Enterprise to be fighting with two Common-wealths together, and to which his confidence and Resolution could not raise him, without a surer interest in the people, who were to undergoe his Tyranny. This now reprieved the Members from his Decree of Dissolution, while they had tryed the fortune of war with the *Dutch*, and had put things into such a posture and certainty, that no home alteration could discompose or disorder it. The Treasures for the support of the War, being now a filling, a Naval force rigging and Equipping, and the Honour and glory of the Nation engaged and concerned. Thus far he cast his Eyes to forraign Transactions, leaving the intestine dangers to the *Junto's* desperation, for,

At home the Parliament had a greater mischief breeding against them then they feared from the most dangerous of their forraign Enemies. A dangerous imposture of ambition, whose quabbing beating pains gave them no rest, nor could all their skill tell how to asswage or cure it. It swelled every day

more and more in continual addreſſes, deſires, petitions, declarations, till it came to be ripe, and then burſt out to the deſtruction of this political body. This was the reiterated and inculcated ſtory of the Parliaments providing for future equal repreſentatives and putting a period to this, then which nothing could be more diſtaſteful, and of greater antipathy to the preſent members, which yet they did moſt artfully conceal, and diſſemble in a hundred complying Votes and reſolves even to the aſcertaining of the longeſt day, *November* 5. 1654. for their ſitting, but that was two years too long for *Cromwell*, whoſe fingers itched to be managing a Scepter. In order to this delay, the Committee that firſt ſat and hatcht upon this bill were removed from the neſt, and the addle eggs put under the chil incumbency of other wild foul, and they to proceed therein with all expedition, a thing ſo unlikely, that Sultan *Cromwel*, who expected a *Grand Cairo* brood, reſolved not to be baffled much longer, as after a Faſt and humiliation of him and his Council of Officers, and the Communication of the grounds thereof to the whole Army in *England* and *Ireland* (which was a lamentation for the tedious continuance of ſelf-intereſted perſons in the Authority, and other Religious melancholy about charity, the want whereof was greatly bemoaned) we ſhall fully diſcover.

Every other day almoſt more Faſts, or ſome ſuch religious Exerciſe was managed by *Cromwel* and *Harriſon*, who mainly promoted the ſame Propoſals for a new Repreſentative, in order to the p[er]ſonal

ſonal Raign of Chriſt, and that therefore it was high time the Government was placed in the Hands of his Saints, for all the glorious Propheſies thereof were now ready to be fulfilled, and this was cryed up as the Doctrine of the Times.

*Cromwell* ſeemed to be of the ſame judgement and of that Millenary Principle, deſigning (as he ſaid) nothing in thoſe Mutations of Government which were agitating, but in tendency to that great Revolution, ſo that he had abſolutely fooled *Harriſon* into a confidence of his good Intentions, and that he aimed not at his own greatneſſe: and thereupon all the party *Harriſon* could make which was *Feaks*, *Rogers*, and *Simpſons*, Congregations, were impatient to have the Parliament outed, and their fine module to take place, wherein Righteouſneſſe and Holyneſſe ſhould be exalted in the Kingdomes of the World. And now the Turk and the Pope were horribly threatned, and *Oliver* look'd upon as the great Inſtrument that ſhould confound Antichriſt.

But though moſt of the Officers were thus bewitched and beſotted, yet a great many of them had juſt and ſtrong ſuſpicions what his diſſolution of the Parliament would end in, and therefore ſecret conſultations were held how to oppoſe theſe practiſes upon the Parliament, in whoſe Authority conſerved and ſecured, they were ſo wiſe as to think themſelves ſafe and defended from the After-claps of the Rebellion; Among the reſt ſeveral Officers of note came voluntarily out of *Ireland* (as ſome out of *Scotland*) who had by their general Faſts per-

ceived the Drift of their General, to withſtand him, and publiquely proteſt againſt the conduct of this buſineſſe, as directly tending to the overthrow and undoing all, for which ſo much blood had been ſpilt, and giving up the moſt glorious Cauſe in the World, to its vanquiſh'd Enemies; *Nols* own Argument.

Major General *Lambert* nevertheleſſe did concur with him in every particular, the whole deſign being ſecretly imparted to him, and he promiſed as a reward for his Aſſiſtance, the ſucceſſion to the Supreme power. This intimacy of *Lambert* was of a long ſtanding ever ſince *Preſton-fight*, and was cemented the faſter by that complacency *Oliver* took in his Wife; A Woman of good birth and good parts, and of pleaſing attractions both for mind and body. The Voyce of the people was, that ſhe was more familiar with him then the Honour of her Sex would allow, and that ſhe had ſome extraordinary kindneſſes for him which ſhe had not for her husband, and that being the Medium or Reciprocation of Intelligence between them, ſhe did communicate all her husbands deſigns, and conceal ſome of the others, though ſhe needed not to have been ſo ſqueemiſh, or reſerved for one, whoſe Depths were never fathomed nor diſcovered to any one mortall, *Ireton* excepted. Of thoſe that oppoſed him in the Deſign; Coll. *Venables*, Scout-maſter-Generall *Downing*, and Major *Streeter*, were the moſt eminent, who to that purpoſe as aboveſaid, came out of *Ireland*; but Colonel *Venables* was ſoon wrought upon, and Mr. *Downing* offering to ſpeak againſt it

in

in the Council of Officers, and getting upon a Table for better Audience, was bid to come down by *Cromwell*, asking him what he did there: only Col. *Streater* perſiſted in his Reſolution of giving reaſons againſt it, and being flamm'd by *Harriſon* with Chriſts perſonal Raign, and that he was aſſured the Lord General ſought not himſelf, but that King Jeſus might take the Scepter; He preſently replied, *That* Chriſt *muſt come before* Chriſtmas, *or elſe he would come too late.* For this opportune oppoſition, and 10. Queries then publiſhed by him in the Army, he was committed to the *Gate-houſe*, and look'd upon by *Cromwell* as his Mortal Enemy.

The next Scene of this applauded Comedy was laid at the *Cock-Pit* by *White-hall*, where *Cromwell* concealing the number of the Beaſt in his *Apocalypſe*, declared to his Council of Officers, *That if they ſhould truſt the People in an Election of a New Parliament according to the old Conſtitution, it would be a tempting of God, and that his confidence was, that God did intend to ſave and deliver this Nation by few, as he had done in former times. and that five or ſix men, and* ſome few more, *ſetting themſelves to the Work, might do more in one day, then the Parliament had or would do in a hundred, as far as he could perceive; and that ſuch* unbyaſſed *men, were like to be the only Inſtruments of the peoples happineſſe.*

Theſe things had been offered to be debated with a Committee, and a Treaty agreed, wherein ſo many Officers, and ſo many Members ſhould meet,

and

and argue the buſineſſe, which ſignified only the crafty Cunctation of the Parliament (who made Aſſes of the Sword-men) *St. Johns* being one of thoſe Referrees, with other reſty Sages of the Anarchy. By this means ſome 4. or 5. Months were ſpent upon the Definition of an equal Repreſentative. But *Cromwel* growing teaſty, ſome began to make particular excuſes, others to promiſe a new Repreſentative to his mind, and ſome to ſide with the Equity of his Propoſals, as moſt conſiſtent, well adviſed, and prudential means, to the Peace of the Nation; ſuch a ridiculous colluſion, that I cannot but anticipate the Event of this Conſpiracy with this Truth.

Upon his return from the Diſſolution of the Parliament back again to the Council of Officers, He acquainted them of his Exploit, and then told them That now they muſt go hand in hand with him, and juſtifie what was done to the hazzard of their Lives and Fortunes as having adviſed and concurred in it. Adding, That when he went into the Houſe, he intended not to do it; but the Spirit was ſo upon him, That he was over-ruled by it, and did not therefore conſult with Fleſh and Blood at all, nor did he premeditate the doing thereof, though he plainly ſaw the Parliament deſigned to ſpin an everlaſting Thread. And becauſe there are few good Acts of his Life, let the Reader *ſcore him up One* for the 23. of *April* 1653.

*Oliver* himſelf attended by Major General *Lambert*, *Harriſon*, and ſome 8 more Officers, having after ſeveral conferences with their Committees

who

(who ſhowed him the danger of calling a new Repreſentative as the Caſe then ſtood with the Common-wealth, for that no qualifications could ſufficiently ſecure the intereſt thereof, and that the only way was to recruit the Houſe which could judge of ſuch Elections by their own Authority) received no ſatisfaction, entred the Houſe (ſome Members being made privy to his deſign before, eſpecially Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, who had held conſultation the night before with him, and was up armed in his Chamber till the very time) and after a Speech therein ſhowing the reaſons and neceſſity of that Diſſolution, did declare it to be ſo, and required them to depart; ſaying in ſome paſſion to ſome of them who began to ask the reaſon of this, *thou art a Whoremaſter, thou a Drunkard, thou a Cheater of the publique*; and preſently Maj. G. *Harriſon* peremptorily bid the Speaker leave the Chair; which he refuſed to do without the order of the Houſe, and till he was pulled out, whereupon *Harriſon* deſired him to lend him his hand, and gently heaved him out; *Cromwell* alſo commanded that Bauble (as he called the Mace) to be taken away, and to be carried no more in State before him, and ſo having turned them out of Dores, lockt them up and clapt Guards before them, and about all the Avenues of the Palace, to keept theſe Spirits out from poſſeſſing it again.

The News of this Luciferian fall, was quickly ſpread throughout the City, and from thence into the Kindome, being related and received with all imaginable gladneſſe, while the Members ſlunk away, muttering to themſelves the affront they had received

received, and laying their heads together how to rettive themſelves, for loath they were to ſuffer this violence, or acknowledge their Diſſolution, which they would by no means hear of. But whatever they fancied to the conttary, raving at this boldneſſe and audaciouſneſs of their Servant, as they ſtyled *Cromwell*, he minded it not, but went on in his work.

The Government (ſuch as it was) was now lodged in the Council of Officers of his own making and preferring, and the firſt thing done by them after this new module, was the Emitting of a Declaration from Him and His Officers, ſhewing the grounds and reaſons of this Diſſolution of the Parliament, with an account of their intentions as to the preſent and future government of the Nation: which that it may appear by how ſlender a thread the Sword of this lawleſs Commander hung over the heads of thoſe Parliament Tyrants, is very requiſite to be inſerted, it holding forth the preſent Intrigues of *Cromwell*'s deſigns, and method of ambition.

*Our intention is not to give an account at this time of the grounds, which firſt moved us to take up Arms, and engage our lives and all that was dear unto us, in this Cauſe; nor to mind in this* Declaration *the various Diſpenſations through which Divine Providence hath led us, or the witneſſe the Lord hath born, and the many ſignal teſtimonies of acceptance the Lord hath given, to the ſincere endevours of his unworthy Servants, whilſt they were conteſting with the*

*the many and great difficulties, as well in the Wars, as other transactions in the three Nations; being necessitated for the defence of the same Cause they first asserted, to have recourse unto extraordinary actions; the same being evident by former Declarations published on that behalf.*

*After it had pleased God not only to reduce* Ireland, *and give in* Scotland, *but so marvellously to appear for his People at* Worcester, *that these Nations were reduced to a great degree of Peace, and* England *to perfect quiet, and thereby the Parliament had opportunity to give the People the harvest of their labour, blood, and treasure, and to settle a due liberty both in reference to civil and spiritual things, whereunto they were obliged by their duty, their Engagements, as also the great and wonderful things which God had wrought for them; it was matter of much grief to the good and well affected of the Land, to observe the little progresse which was made therein, who thereupon applied to the Army expecting redress by their means, notwithstanding which, the Army, being unwilling to meddle with the Civil Authority in matters so properly appertaining to it, it was agreed, that his Excellency and Officers of the Army, which were Members of Parliament, should be desired to move the Parliament, to proceed vigorously in performing what was amisse in Government, and to the setling of the Commonwealth upon a foundation of justice and righteousnesse; which having done, we hoped that the Parliament would seasonably have answered our expectations: But finding (to our grief) delayes therein, we renewed our desires in an humble*

*Petition*

*Petition to them, which was presented in* August *last, and although they at that time signifying their good acceptance thereof returned us Thanks, and referred the particulars thereof to a Committee of the House, yet no considerable Effect was produced, nor any such progresse made, as might imply their real intentions to accomplish what was Petitioned for; but on the contrary there more and more appeared amongst them, an aversion to the things themselves, with much bitternesse and opposition to the people of God, and his Spirit acting in them, which grew so prevalent, that those persons of Honour and Integrity amongst them, who had eminently appeared for God and the publique good, both before and throughout this War, were rendred of no further use in Parliament, then by meeting with a corrupt party, to give them countenance to carry on their ends, and for effecting the desire they had of perpetuating themselves in the supreme Government. For which purpose the said party long opposed, and frequently declared themselves against having a new Representative; and when they saw themselves necessitated to take that Bill into consideration, they resolved to make use of it to recruit the House with persons of the same Spirit and temper, thereby to perpetuate their own sitting, which intention divers of the activest amongst them did manifest, labouring to perswade others to a consent therein: And the better to effect this, divers Petitions preparing from several Counties for the continuance of this Parliament, were encouraged, if not set on foot by many of them.*

*For*

*For obviating these evils, the Officers of the Army obtained several meetings with some of the Parliament, to consider what fitting means and remedy might be applied to prevent the same: least that this Cause which the Lord hath so greatly blessed, and bore witnesse to, should languish under their hands, and by degrees, be wholly lost, and the Lives, Liberties, and comforts of his People delivered into their Enemies hands.*

*All which being sadly and seriously considered by the honest people of this Nation, as well as by the Army, and wisdome and direction being sought from the Lord, it seemed to be a duty incumbent upon us, who had seen so much of the power and presence of God going along with us, to consider of some more effectual means, to secure the Cause, which the good People of this Commonwealth had been so long engaged in, and to establish Righteousnesse and Peace in these Nations.*

*And after much debate it was judged necessary, and agreed upon, that the Supreme Authority should be by the Parliament devolved upon known persons, men fearing God and of approved Integrity, and the government of the Commonwealth committed unto them for a time, as the most hopeful way to encourage and countenance all Gods People, reform the Law, and administer Justice impartially; hoping thereby the people may* forget Monarchy, *and understanding their true Election of successive Parliaments, may have the Government setled upon a true Basis, without hazzard to this glorious Cause, or necessitating to keep* up Armies *for the defence of the same.*

*And*

*And being ſtill reſolved to uſe all means poſſible to avoid extraordinary courſes, we prevailed with about twenty Members of Parliament, to give us a Conference, with whom we freely and plainly debated the neceſſity and juſtneſs of our propoſals on that behalf; and did evidence that thoſe, and not the Act under their Conſideration, would moſt probably bring forth ſomething anſwerable to that Work, the foundation whereof God himſelf hath laid, and is now carrying on in the World.*

*The which notwithſtanding found no acceptance, but inſtead thereof, it was offered, that the way was to continue ſtill this preſent Parliament, as being that from which we might reaſonably expect all good things. And this being vehemently inſiſted upon, did much confirm us in our apprehenſions; That not any love to a Repreſentative, but the making uſe thereof, to recruit, and ſo to perpetuate themſelves, was their aim.*

*They being plainly dealt with about this, and told, That neither the Nation, the honeſt Intereſt, nor we our ſelves, would be deluded by ſuch dealings, They did agree to meet again the next day in the Afternoon for mutuall ſatisfaction, it being conſented to by the Members preſent, that Endevours ſhould be uſed, that nothing in the mean time ſhould be done in Parliament, that might exclude or fruſtrate the Propoſals before-mentioned.*

*Notwithſtanding this, the next morning the Parliament did make more haſt then uſuall, in carrying on their ſaid Act, being helped on therein by ſome of the perſons engaged to us the night before,*

*none*

none of them which were then present endeavouring to oppose the same; and being ready to put the main Question for consummating the said Act, whereby our aforesaid Proposals would have been rendred void, and the way of bringing them into a fair and full Debate of Parliament obstructed.

For preventing whereof, and all the sad and evil consequences, which must upon the grounds aforesaid have ensued, and whereby at one blow the Interest of all honest men, and of this glorious Cause, had been endangered to be laid in the dust, and these Nations embroyled in new Troubles, at a Time when our Enemies abroad are watching all advantages against us, and some of them actually engaged in War with us; we have been necessitated, though with much reluctancy, to put an end to this Parliament; which yet we have done (we hope) out of an honest heart, preferring this Cause above our names, lives, families, or interests, how dear soever; with clear intentions, and real purposes of heart, to call to the Government persons of approved fidelity and honesty: believing, That as none wise will expect to gather Grapes of Thorns, so good men will hope, that if persons so qualified be chosen, the fruits of a just and righteous Reformation, so long prayed and wished for, will (by the blessing of God) be in due time obtained, to the refreshing of all those good hearts, who have been panting after these things.

Much more might have been said if it had been our desire to justifie our selves, by aspersing others, and raking into the Mis-government of affairs; but we shall conclude with this, That as we have been led by

 necessity

neceſſity and Providence, to act as we have done. even beyond and above our own thoughts and deſires, ſo we ſhall and do, in that of this great work which is behind, put our ſelves wholly upon the Lord for a bleſſing; profeſſing we look not to ſtand one day without his ſupport, much leſſe to bring to paſſe one of the things mentioned and deſired, without his aſſiſtance: And therefore do ſolemnly deſire and expect, That all men, as they would not provoke the Lord to their own deſtruction, would wait for ſuch iſſue as he ſhould bring forth, and to follow their buſineſs with peaceable ſpirits; wherein we promiſe them protection by his aſſiſtance.

And for thoſe who profeſſe their fear and love to the Name of God; that ſeeing, in a great meaſure for their ſakes, and for righteouſneſſe ſake, we have taken our lives in our hands, to do theſe things, they would be inſtant with the Lord, day and night on our behalfs, that we may obtain grace from him. And ſeeing we have made ſo often mention of his Name, that we may not do the leaſt diſhonour thereunto: which indeed would be our confuſion, and a ſtain to the whole profeſſion of Godlineſs.

We beſeech them alſo to live in all humility, meekneſſe, righteouſneſſe, and love one towards another, and towards all men; that ſo they may put to ſilence the ignorance of the fooliſh, who falſly accuſe them; and to know that the late great and glorious diſpenſations, wherein the Lord hath ſo wonderfully appeared in bringing forth theſe things, by the travel and blood of his Children, ought ſo to oblige them, ſo to walk in the Wiſdome and love of Chriſt, as may cauſe others

*others to honour their holy Profeſſion, becauſe they ſee Chriſt to be in them of a Truth.*

*We do further propoſe before it be long, more particularly to ſhew the Grounds of our Proceedings, and the Reaſons of this late great Action and Change, which in this We have but hinted at.*

*And we do laſtly declare, That all Judges, Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, Committees, and all other Civil Officers, and Publique Miniſters whatſoever, within the Common-wealth, or any parts thereof, do proceed in their reſpective Places, and Offices, and all perſons whatſoever, are to give Obedience to them as fully as when the Parliament was ſitting.*

Signed in the Name, and by the Appointment of his Excellency the Lord General, and his Councel of Officers.

*White-hall* the 22. of *April*, 1663. *William Malyn*, Secret.

To ingratiate now with the *Presbyterian* who yet kept up their form of Church Worſhip, and were the moſt of one publique perſwaſion, all diſturbances in Churches were prohibited the Phanatick licenciouſneſſe of the Army, which ſwarmed with *Anabaptiſts*, *Quakers*, and *Ranters*, and were now mad to be ſeizing all the remaining Revenue of Church Lands, in *Glebe*, *Tythe*, or *Impropriations*. And to this purpoſe Addreſſes were eagerly

carried on; such hopes being under-hand given them, to strengthen the hands of this *Dictator* in carrying on the work of *Sion*.

He was also Complemented by the *French* Ambassador *Bourdeaux*, who had made Applications to the Parliament, but was doubtful of effecting his Errand with those highest and Mightiest States who were grown formidable not only to the *Dutch*, but to his Master, who willingly courted them to prevent their closing with his Rebells of *Bourdeaux*, onely *Oliver* as we have seen, valued them no more then *Scoundrels* or *Rake Shames*, nor would give ear to any more Enemies of Monarchy.

Being thus by force possest of the Supreme power after he had held it some few dayes, to shew the absur'd and ridiculous State *Caprichio's* of the Councel of Officers who as yet managed the Civil Authority, he transmitted it to a new Councel of State, made up of the Supremest of them, and some former *Juncto*-men, who by Proclamation commanded all Officers to execute their Trusts, as formerly, and required the same obedience; to commute with which they abated the Tax from 120000. to 90000. *per mensem*. It was now remarqued that many great Fires ushered in this Incendaries Usurpation.

This Councel of State did next give birth to that Monster of the little Parliament, which like an abortive Cub was cast by *Cromwell*, and fondly, and vainly *lick'd* by *Harrison*, both which had most different ends on this Convention, in the one a Temporal, in the other a Spiritual Pride and Covetousnesse,

neſſe, (though not altogether purified from the Deceits of the World) worked in this myſterious knack of a new and unheard of Legiſlative Authority, who by the Name of Men of *Integrity* and *Fidelity* to the Cauſe of God, were by a bare ſummons from *Oliver* called to the Settlement of the State, that was, to be Stirrups or Foot-ſteps to the Throne whereon *Cromwell* ſhould tread, they being abject and mean people, being ſuch as were named by the Officers, that is, by *Cromwell*'s Agents to this Councel, and of moſt deſtructive Principles to all Community and Society, either as Men or Chriſtians. It is obſervable, that *Cromwel* who utterly rejected the *Rump*-expedient to his inſtances of a new Repreſentative of filling up the Houſe, by foiſting in Elections of their own to which (their Authority ſtanding) they could unqueſtionably awe the Country, made not nice of it for himſelf in a more preſumptuous and moſt Illegal manner.

According to their Summons, on the 4. of *July*, the Members of approved Fidelity, *&c.* met at the Councel Chamber in *White-hall*, to whom *Cromwel* in a zealous Speech much to the purpoſe of his Declaration, and the occaſion of the preſent Meeting, ſtuft with various citations of Scriptures. (I am loath to nauſeate the Reader with any more of his Harangues at large) to his, (but far from the) purpoſe, devolved the Supreme Truſt, which they tranſlated into more Common Engliſh, adjourning themſelves after a ſhort Conſultation to *Weſtminſter*, and giving themſelves the Title and Authority of the Parliament of *England*, voting Mr. *Francis*

*Rouſe* for their Speaker, but with a Collateral Vote that he ſhould continue in the Chair no longer then for a Month; They were perſons for the moſt part of ſuch mean and ignote extractions, that ſo far they were from being taken notice of by their Shires, each of whom but two or three repreſented, that they were ſcarce known in the very Towns they were born, or afterwards inhabited, till the Exciſe, then Committees for Sequeſtration, and the War in the reſpective Counties, made them infamouſly known; The reſt were of his Partiſans in the Parliament and High Court of Juſtice.

On the 12. of *Decemb.* (as it had been directed by the Councel of State) the Parliament being Sate, ſome of the Members ſtood up one after another, and made a motion for a Diſſolution thereof, for that it would not be for the good of the Nations to continue it longer; this Court Ayre almoſt blaſted the Men of *Fidelity* and Committee-Blades, who had ſcarce warmed their Fingers ends in the Government, and were newly ſettling themſelves and their Friends in a thriving way, as they had done in their Offices they had paſſed before, and thereupon they began one after another to make perorations of the Cauſe of God and the Godly people committed to their charge, which they could not tell how to anſwer him, if ſo eaſily they ſhould give it up, and leave the Common-wealth in ſuch a diſtraction as would inevitably enſue, and Major Gen. *Harriſon*, and *Arthur Squib* (the great Sequeſtrator of *Haberdaſher-hall*) were very copiouſly zealous in defence of their Authority: But

the Military or Court-party being the Major part, not thinking them worthy of a diſpute or longer debate, the Speaker being of their ſide, roſe and left the Houſe and them Sitting in it, where to prayers they went, and then reſolved to continue ſitting.

In the mean time *Rous* the Speaker (with the Mace before him and his Followers) came to *White-hall*, and there reſigned the Inſtrument he gave them, by which they were conſtituted a Parliament, and gave him likewiſe to underſtand how they had left their fellowes: Their ſurrender was kindly received by *Oliver*, and they thanked for the pains they had taken in the ſervice of the Common-wealth, however he and they had miſſed of their intentions of the good ſhould thereby have come to the Common-wealth, which a ſtrange ſpirit and perverſe principle in ſome of the Members had ſolely hindred; and as to them yet Sitting in the Parliament Houſe, he diſpatch'd away Lieutenant Coll. *White* a Confident of his to diſlodge them, who accordingly with a Guard of Red-coats came thither, and entring the Houſe demanded them in the Name of the General to depart, for the Parliament was Diſſolved, who replying to the contrary, and telling him they were upon Buſineſſe, and ought not to be thus diſturb'd; he asked what Buſineſſe, they anſwered, we are ſeeking of God; Pugh ſaith he, is that all, that's to no purpoſe, for God hath not been within theſe Walls theſe 12. years, and ſo fairly compiled them out, muttering with the ſame wrath and ſorrowfull look-backs, as thoſe that had ſate 20. times the ſame term, and could have almoſt pleaded preſcription.

Thus was the Power emptied from one Veſſel to another, as the Scribes and Chaplains of the Grandees phraſed it, and could find no ſettlement, till *Oliver* was called to it by his Council of Officers, to ſupply this gap in the government: and now a Single Perſon with a Council is the only expedient, for the ſafety of the People, for that there is no truſt nor truth in Parliaments, as their often aberrations and failures had ſufficiently declared; and it was diſcourſed by the Abettors of this Change, that 'twas not Monarchy which was quarrelled at, but the corruptions and abuſes of it, in its unlimited unbounded Prerogative, all which would be avoided, by the circumſcription of it in a Protector, by his Council and a new Inſtrument of Government, and the ſupreme power of a Triennial Parliament, in whom during their Seſſion the Soveraign Authority ſhould reſide.

So they ſaid, and ſo they did, for after 4. dayes time (in which *Feak* and his Freaking Partiſans were almoſt run from their wits in rage and madneſſe) *Cromwel* was appointed and declared for Protector of this Infant Common-wealth (and it was a tedious Interval to him) the *Chancery* Court at *Weſtminſter-hall* being prepared for the Ceremony of the Inſtallment in this manner, after the uſual ſeeking of God by the Officers of the Army.

The Protector about One of the Clock in the afternoon, came from *Whitehall* to *Weſtminſter* to the *Chancery* Court, attended by the Lords Commiſſioners of the great Seal of *England*, Barons of the *Exchequer*, and Judges in their Robes; after them,

the

the Councel of the Common-wealth, and the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of the City of *London*, in their Scarlet Gowns; then came the Protector attended with many of the chief Officers of the Army; a Chair of State being ſet in the ſaid Court of *Chancery*, the Protector ſtood on the left hand thereof uncovered, till a large Writing in Parchment in the manner of an Oath, was read; there being the power with which the Protector was inveſted, and how the Protector is to govern the three Nations, which the Protector accepted of, and ſubſcribed in the face of the Court, and immediately hereupon ſate down covered in the Chair; the Lords Commiſſioners then delivered up the Great Seal of *England* to the Protector, and the Lord Mayor his Sword and Cap of Maintenance, all which the Protector returned immediately to them again: The Court then roſe, and the Protector was attended back as aforeſaid, to the Banquetting houſe at *White-hall*, the Lord Mayor himſelf uncovered carrying the Sword before the Protector all the way; and coming into the Banquetting-houſe, an exhortation was made by Mr. *Lockyer*, after which the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Judges departed.

The Inſtrument or Module framed to be the Foundation of this preſent Government; was chiefly made up of theſe following heads.

*That the Supreme Legiſlative Authority be and reſide in a ſingle Perſon, and the People in Parliament, the Execution of that power to be in the Protector,*

tector, with the advice of his Council, not to exceed Twenty and One. All Proceedings to run in the Name and Stile of the Protector, and all Honours, Offices and Titles to be derived from him, that he may pardon all offences but Treason and Murther. The Militia during the Parliament ſhall be in his and their hands, but in the Intervals only in his and his Councils. He and his Council to make War and Peace with forraign Princes. Not make new Laws or abrogate old without Conſent of Parliament. A Parliament to be called within ſix Months, and afterwards every third year, and if need be oftner, which the Protector ſhall not diſſolve without conſent in Parliament, till after 5 Months. The Parliament of Engliſh to conſiſt of 400. to be choſen by more equal diſtributions, in Counties and Boroughs; of Scotch 30. and ſo many of the Iriſh. The Summoning of the Parliament to paſſe under the Seal of the Commonwealth, to the Sheriffs; and if the Protector omit or deny that, then the Commiſſioners of the Seal, be held under pain of High Treaſon, to iſſue out ſuch Writs, and in caſe of failure in him, the High Sheriffs, and ſome other By-blowes concerning the equality, and fairneſs of Elections under great penalties, No Royaliſt, Iriſh Rebells or Papiſts to be capable of being Elected, and in caſe they be, to forfeit two years Revenue, and three parts of their goods. None to be Elected under the Age of 21 years nor unleſs he be a man of Integrity, a lover of God, and of good converſation. None to have voyces in Election but ſuch as were worth 200. pounds. The Elections to be forthwith tranſmitted to the Council of State,

*State, by the Secretary of the Commissioners, and in case of dispute to the Council of State. Sixty to make a Quorum. The Protector if need be to call Parliaments between the Intervals thereof. Bills offered to the Protector, if not assented to by him within forty days, to passe into Laws notwithstanding. The Protector with the Advice of his Council, in case of death, or Breach of Trust, to substitute new Privy Councellors. A Competent Revenue to be setled for the maintenance of Ten thousand Horse, and Fifteen thousand Foot, and the Navy, and not to be altered or lessened but by the Advice of the Council, and upon the disbanding of them the money to be brought to the Exchequer. No new Levies, nor Laws to be made without consent in Parliament. All forfeited Lands unsold to belong to the Protector. The Protectorate to be Elective, but the Royal Family to be excluded.* Oliver Cromwel *to be the present Protector. All places of Trust and Office to be in the Protectors disposal; if in Interval of Parliament, to be Approved and Confirmed in Parliament. The rest; for the purity and toleration of Religion, out of which the Papist and Protestant were to be exempted, and all Laws in favour of them, to be abrogated. All Sales of Parliament to be confirmed. Articles of War to be made good. And lastly, the Protector and his Successor to be bound by Oath to observe these present Articles, and to uphold the Peace and welfare of the Nation; which Oath was* in hæc verba.

*I promise in the presence of God, not to violate or infringe*

*infringe the matters and things contained in the Instrument, but to observe, and cause the same to be observed; & in all things to the best of my understanding, govern the Nations according to the Laws, Statutes, and Customes; to seek their peace, and cause Justice and Law to be equally administred.*

The Feat needed no more security, as good altogether as its Authority, in this following Proclamation, which was published throughout *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, in these words,

*Whereas the late Parliament Dissolved themselves, and resigning their Powers and Authorities; the Government of the Common-wealth of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *in a Lord Protector, and successive Triennial Parliaments is now established: And whereas* Oliver Cromwell *Captain General of all the Forces of this Common-wealth is declared Lord Protector of the said Nations, and hath accepted thereof: We have therefore thought it necessary (as we hereby do) to make Publication of the Premises, and strictly to charge and command all and every Person or Persons, of what quality and condition soever in any of the said three Nations, to take notice hereof, and to conform and submit themselves to the Government so established. And all Sheriffs, Mayor, Bailiffs, &c. are required to publish this Proclamation to the end none may have cause to pretend ignorance in this behalf.*

This Miscellany of the laws, & new projections, suted

suted a great many humours and different perswasions of the Phanaticks, Independents, Anabaptists and others, being the second part of the Alchoran. And because there is occasion for it, we will discourse a little of the present State of Religion, and what opinion *Cromwell* best aspected. The Orthodox Protestants were wholly suppress, and yet some Reverend persons, as Dr. *Usher* the Bishop of *Armagh*, and Dr. *Brownrig* the Bishop of *Exeter* received some shews of respect and reverence from Him, which he more manifestly boasted in the funeral Expences of the Learned *Usher*, and this to captate a Reputation of his Love to Scholars, and the meek, modest, and vertuous Clergy. The *Presbyterian* was rather tolerated then countenanced, and yet such of them as would comply with his Court greatnesse, were much in his eye and his favour; for others of them he cared not, pleasingly expressing himself how he had brought under the Pride and Arrogance of that Sect, making those that would allow no liberty to others, sue for it for themthemselves. The Independents and Anabaptists he loved and preferred by turns, and was most constant to them, as the men that would and did support his Usurpation: only he could by no means endure the Fifth Monarchy men, though by their dotages he had raised himself to this height; and therefore *Feak* and *Rogers*, were by him committed to Prison in the Castle of *Windsor*, where they continued a long while, and not only so, but he set *Kiffin* the Anabaptist whom he had taken out of design into his favour, with his party, together by the ears, with *Feaks*,

to

to the raiſing of a Feud between them, the Ballance of his Security in the Government. The like he did betwixt the Presbyterian and Independant, a ſubdivided Schiſme from the Church of *England*, as *Feaks* and *Kiffins* were from Independency; whom when out of his zeal to the Unity of Chriſtian Religion, he ſeemd to bring together, to compoſe and accommodate all Differences; in the near probability of ſuch expedients, he would divide and more irreconcilably ſever and alienate. And this was all his practical Devotion. But to return;

Great ſhooting of Guns at night, and Volleys of Acclamations, were given at the cloſe of this mock ſolemnity by *Cromwell*'s Janizaries, while the Cavaliers were more joyfully diſpoſed at the Hopes of the Kings Affairs, but no body of any Account giving the Uſurper a good word or *muskiditche* with his greatneſſe, ſave what was uttered in Fur by my Lord Mayor, and the Complices in this Fact, who tickled his ears with the Eccho of the Proclamation done with the uſual Formalities; theſe Triumphs ſo diſguſted *Harriſon*, (as alſo Coll. *Rich*) that he withdrew himſelf from the Gang and turned publique Preacher or railer againſt his Comrade *Oliver*, who was glad to be rid of ſuch a buſie impertinent Aſſiſtant in the moduling of Government: So *Cromwell* had now two Common-wealth-contradivided Factions againſt him, the old and new Parliaments, and therefore it nearly concerned him to make much of the Anabaptiſt and Sectary, which now ſucceed Independency as the Religion maintained and favoured above all other, and *Kiffin* a great

great Leader and Teacher, was now in great requeſt at the Court at *White-hall*, and contrarily Sir *Henry Vane*, jun. was look'd on a-skue, as alſo Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*, and *Bradſhaw*, and *Scot*, and ſo the *Babell*-Builders were confounded one amongſt another.

The Councel appointed by the Officers, or taken rather by himſelf, by whoſe advice he was to Govern, were 14. at firſt.

| | |
|---|---|
| Lord *Lambert*. | Sir *Charles Wolſley*. |
| Lord Viſcount *Liſle*. | Col. *Philip Jones*. |
| General *Desbrow*. | *Francis Rous* Eſq; |
| Sir *Gilbert Pickring*. | *Richard Major* Eſq; |
| Major General *Skippon*. | *John Lawrence* Eſq; |
| Sir *Anth. Aſhley Cooper*. | Col. *Edward Montague*. |
| *Walter Strickland* Eſq; | Col. *William Sydenham* |

I ſhould have mentioned the *Dutch* War in its place, which aggrandized him with the uſual victorious ſucceſſe; but becauſe he was never perſonally engaged in the Service, but owed this Garland, as he did the glory of *Dunbar* to the noble Generall *Monck*, and wore but a ſecond-hand Triumphal Robe; I will not conſtellate him with that Hero's Splendor and Brightneſs of Fame.

That which properly concerns *Cromwell* is rather the Diſhonour of that War, the Peace that enſued the Concluſion of it; for the Stomach of that Nation had been ſo humbled by ſeveral great loſſes, their Trade ſo ſpoiled, and their Subjects ſo impoveriſhed, that it was thought impoſſible for them to

to have equipped another Fleet, able to look our Navies in the Face; Withall there were so many Discontents and Divisions in that popular State, that they were ready to ruine themselves without any of our help, yet did this puny and unfledged Prince come to a Treaty and Agreement with them, upon most mean and inconsiderable Terms, when it had been no question but another Rub at Sea, or beleaguering their Ports, would have brought them down to the Humble Complement of Our faithful Tributaries, which of how great advantage it might have been to the Trade, and consequently the greatnesse of this Kingdome, I take not upon me to determine.

His next Affair was a Conclusion of a League with the Queen of *Sweden*, which he transmitted by the Embassy the Lord Commissioner *Whitlock*, who being commissioned at his Departure by the foolish Parliament, was invested with new Credentialls from *Cromwell*, whom accordingly he owned as his most serene Highness his Master.

*Cromwell* next supplied the Benches of the Court at *Westminster*, with the ablest of the Lawyers, whom he had invited to the publique service, and Mr. *Maynard*, *Twisden*, *Nudigate*, *Hugh Windham* were made Serjeants, and Mr. *Hales* one of the Justices of the *Common-pleas*, where *St. Johns* yet sate, and of the Cabinet to his Protector besides; having preferred his Man *Thurloe* (his Secretary at the *Hague*) to be his Secretary of State, the Candle or Light of that Dark-Lanthorn, which *St. Johns* was said to be in these mysterious times of *Cromwel*, in

in all his attempts and designs of consequence and moment.

The Dutch Peace was also concluded on by the Ambassadors and Commissioners of the said Council for the Protector, between whom this private Article was agreed, that the Prince of *Auranger* should never be restored to the Dignities, Offices, and Charge his Ancestors held and enjoyed, and this was urged for the better conservation of the Peace which would in his Restitution be endangered, because of his Relation to the King.

The Protector dined in great state upon an Invitation from the Lord Mayor &c. at *Grocers-Hall* the 8. of *February* being *Ashwednesday*, a very unsuitable day for any Festival but his Entertainment, who inverted all things, the streets being railed from *Temple-Bar* thither, the Liveries in their Gowns in their gradual standings awaiting him; he was met at the said Gate by Alderman *Viner* the Lord Maior, who delivered him the Sword there, and having received it from him back again, bore it on Horseback bareheaded before him all the way; through which the same silence was kept, as if a Funeral had been *in passu*, and no doubt, it was that muteneſſe which *Tacitus* mentioned in *Tiberius*, *quale Magnæ Iræ vel magni metus est silentium*, no apprecations or so much as a How do ye, being given during the Cavalcade. After Dinner he was served with a Banquet, in the conclusion whereof he Knighted Alderman *Viner*, and would have done the same to the Recorder *Steel*, for his learned Speech of Government, calculated and measured for him, but he for

good Reasons avoided it; My Lord Mayor was forced to carry it home, and anger his Wife with it, who had real *Honour* both in her Name and Nature. *Oliver* at his return had the second course of a brick-bat, from the top of a house in the *Strand* by St. *Clements*, which light upon his Coach, and almost spoiled his Digestion with the daringnesse of the affront, search was made but in vain, the person could not be found, and it could not be thought to be vengeance from above; which as yet ready to rain upon him.

He published a little after an Ordinance for the Trial and Approbation of Ministers, wherein *Philip Nye*, *Goodwin*, *Hugh Peters*, *Mr. Manton*, and others, were named Commissioners, the question these men put to the Examinants, was not of Abilities or Learning, but grace in their hearts, and that with so bold and saucy Inquisition, that some men trembled at their Interrogatories, they phrasing it so, as if (as was said of the Council of *Trent*) they had the Holy Ghost in a Cloak-bag; or were rather *Simon Magus* his own Disciples; and certainly there were never such *Symoniacks* in the World, not a living of value, but what a Friend or the best purchaser was admitted into, to which humane learning even where a former right was, was a good and sufficient bar; no lesse to the ruine then scandal of the Church of *England*, and the Protestant Religion and professors thereof; several ignorant bold Laicks being inducted into the best Spiritualities, as best consisted with *Olivers* Interest, which depended upon the Sectary, and their hideous divisions in Religion.

The

The Forraign Affairs which he now moſt aſpected, were the two Neighbouring potent Monarchies of *France* and *Spain*, with one whereof he [illegible] of neceſſity quarrell, and ſo ſpend the ill blood, and convey away thoſe humours which were ſo redundant in the old Soldiery, both of the Kings and *Eſſexes* Army, and if not employed in ſome forraign War, would create him trouble at home; this the *French* Cardinal, newly reſtored to the adminiſtration of that Monarchy, timely foreſee, and therefore a Treaty was privately and induſtriouſly carried on here by Mounſieur *Bourdeaux Neufville*, to an amicable Aſſociation and League againſt the *Spaniard*. *Cromwell's* Covetouſneſſe and thirſt of Gold prevailing againſt his Intereſt and Ambition and thirſt of Malice and Miſchief againſt the Royal Family, which was as yet ſhaded under the *French Fleurs de Lyzes*, whereby all perſons expected an Invaſion from hence of that Kingdome, that if it were poſſible for his Treaſon, he might drive it out of the world.

But *Mazarins* Golden expedient and temporary Medium, of ſhifting the King and his Relations out of that Kingdome, by vertue of the ſaid League, wholly ſwayed and inclined him to a War againſt *Spain*, which not long after was commenced: The greater invitation thereto being three ſhips pretended *Hamburgers*, but laden with the King of *Spains* pieces of Eight, whether for his Account or no uncertain, that had been newly ſtayed and ſeized by the Court of Admiralty, at the proſecution of one *Violet* a *Goldſmith*: and notwithſtanding the

*Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, *Don Alonſo de Cardenas*, proteſted and ſtrugled againſt it, were carried to the [illegible]*er*, and there minted to the Sum of 400000. [illegible]. This and other Moneys in the *Exchequer*, gave the greater courage to his Ambition, and his raw and unſetled Uſurpation. He had alſo now accepted ſatisfaction from the King of *Portugal*, and was entred into League and Friendſhip with him.

How many are the troubles, cares, and miſeries of Tyrant-greatneſſe; No ſooner is one deſign, one paſſion gratified and accompliſhed, but another diſquiet and danger invades or perplexes Him. No ſooner had he ſacrificed to his Covetouſneſſe, but now he muſt offer Victims to his Cruelty, the next Aſſurance of his hated Throne. There is in the Labyrinth of Vice, as in the orderly Frame of Arts and Sciences, a Circle, a κυκλοφορηςία, a Spherical Motion from one evil to another, till the laſt terminates at the beginning, their qualities and quantities being only altered, augmented, or diminiſhed by Time or other circumſtances.

From the deep Deſign of forraign *Mines*, He next converted his thoughts upon a Home-ſpun plot. A horrible practice of Machivilian Policy, and Art of Empire, with which even juſt Scepters have been polluted, and ſtained by ſome unhumane Miniſters of State, upon pretences of preventing danger (who ſtand chargeable even with the Loyal bloud this Leech ſuckt from their Conduits) to entrap and engage innocent perſons (upon Suſpicion of others of the ſame party, who are obnoxious to the Government) in Machinations and Conſpiracies of their

their own forming and contrivance, and by their Emiſſaries betray and condemn them. This was the firſt bloody remarque of *Cromwel*'s Princing, managed by his Secretary *Thurloe*, who drew in Coll. *John Gerrard* and Mr. *Vowel* two eminent Royaliſts into his ſnare of a pretended conſpiring the Death of *Oliver*, with others who confeſſed the Intention, for which theſe two were both condemned by a High Court of Juſtice, (*Cromwel* not daring to truſt the Laws or a Jury, the Birthright of *Engliſhmen*, no more then did the former *Functo* of Regicides) & the firſt beheaded at *Tower-Hill*, and the other hanged at *Charing-Croſſe*; the Collonel declaring, That he was ſo far from having hand or heart in it, or any encouragement from the King (as was falſly ſuggeſted) that he feared he ſhould not dye right in his favour, as being but ſuſpected of that (though ſo juſt) Aſſaſſinate: it being below His Majeſties Honour and Religion. Mr. *Vowel* referred his Cauſe, and his unjuſt Judges, and the Tyrant to Heavens Tribunal.

This was the Rozin, there wanted now the Conſent of the People in Parliament, to fidle and tune his Inſtrument. He reſolved therefore to call one forthwith, for the Nation began to murmure at him (and ſome openly to refuſe obedience) and to forget the pleaſing acquieſcence in the change he had made, ſince thay ſaw he made it only for himſelf. The Nine dayes wonder was over, and they had recovered themſelves to a freſh ſenſe of their Slavery (which might afterwards ſtupifie and benum them) before the ſeveral oppoſite parties of Royaliſts, and Com-

men-wealth-men, could understand one another, and bandy both against Him.

Having now plotted and secured the Elections of as many Sectaries and of his Party to the ensuing Parliament, as his young Interest could procure him; in the Month of *July*, to recreate himself and his Familiar *Thurloe*, with some robust and jogging Exercise, to void the Gravel with which he was much troubled, He would needs shew his skill in driving a Coach with six great *German* Horses, sent him as a present by the Count of *Oldenburgh*, in *Hide-Parke*; but those generous Horses no sooner heard the Lash of the Whip, but away they ran with *Thurloe* sitting trembling in it, for fear of his own Neck, over Hill and Dale, and at last threw down their unexpert Governour from the Box, into the Traces, and there had likely to have trod and drawn him to peices, but Vengeance was yet again pleased to respite him and put him over to a like judicial Execution, (after his *immature* Death) in 1660. Of this ominous chance many ingenious Songs were made, and one called the Jolt by Sir *John Berkenhead* which being in Print in a History (and in the *Rump* Songs) though the Author mistaken, is purposely forborn.

The Elections were made one and the same day throughout *England*; most of the Boroughs had but one Burgess, and the Shires some of them 6. or 7. Knights, all of them under sure qualifications, of not having been or being of the Cavalier party; there were 30. also by the Instrument Elected for *Scotland*; and as many for *Ireland*, all or most of whom

whom were *Englisſh* Commanders. On the 3. of *September* they met, and adjourned from the Houſe to the Abbey, where Mr. *Marſhall* preached, and ſo to the *Painted Chamber*, where they had a Meſſage from the Protector to invite them to a Sermon the next day again, when Doctor *Goodwin* Preached; and the Protector came in great State in his Coach, *Cleypole* the Maſter of Horſe, and *Strickland* the Captain of his Guard, bareheaded on both ſides; at his entrance into the Church, *Lambert* carried the Sword before him, and *Whitlock* the Purſe; the Sermon done, to the *Painted-Chamber* again, and there in a Speech he ſet forth theſe Heads.

'That ſome few years agoe, none would have 'thought of ſuch a Dore of Hope; that he knew there 'were yet many Humours and Intereſts, and that 'Humours were above Intereſt, that the condition 'of *England* was like *Iſrael* in the Wilderneſſe (of 'which the Sermon was) that this was a Healing 'day, there was neither Nobleman, nor Gentle-'man, nor Yeoman before known by any diſtinctio-'on, we had not any that bore rule and Authority, 'but a great contempt of Magiſtracy and Chriſts 'Ordinances; that the Fifth Monarchy was highly 'cryed up by perſons who would aſſume the Go-'vernment, but that deſired Reign wanted greater 'manifeſtation, then appeared for ſuch men to 'change the Authority by (*and this directed at the 'little Parliament.*) He deſired this Honourable Aſ-'ſembly to remedy all theſe Diſorders, ſhewed that 'the *Portugal*, *French*, & *Dutch* differences, do & did

'eat up the Assessements, that swarms of Jesuits 'were crept in to make divisions, which were grown 'so wide that nothing but his Government could 'remedy them; and let men say what they will, he 'could speak it with comfort before a greater then 'any of them. Then he shewed what he had done 'during his Government, First, his endevour of 'reforming the Laws, having joyned all Parties to 'assist in that great work; next, his filling the Ben-'ches with the ablest Lawyers; then his Regulation 'of the Court of *Chancery*, and then his Darling 'Ordinance for approbation of Ministers (which 'hindred all that List from invading the Ministry) 'by men of both perswasions, Presbyterians and In-'dependents, *&c.* And lastly, his being *Instrumental* 'to call a Free Parliament, which he valued and 'would keep it so above his life.

'Then he shewed the advantages of the Peace, 'with the *Dutch*, *Dane*, and *Swede*, and the Pro-'testant Interest, which he would have them im-'prove and intend chiefly; that they were now upon 'the edge of *Canaan*; that he spoke not as their 'Lord, but their fellow servant, and then bid them 'go and chuse their Speaker. Which they did with-out presenting of him, his Name *William Lenthal*, the old Chairman; and next day fell upon the In-strument, as they had Voted, by parts as it lay, and questioned the Power; which *Oliver* understan-ding, to put them out of that course which touched his Copy-hold, after 9. days he came to the Paint-ed Chamber, and sending for them, declared and asserted four Fundamentals in the instrument, which

they

they were not to meddle with or to alter. 1. *The Government by a ſingle perſon and Parliament.* 2. *The Imperpetuity of Parliaments, or no continued ſucceſſion of them.* 3. *The Militia, which was his only.* And 4. *Liberty of Conſcience; telling them a Free Parliament was but a term of Reciprocation, for that power which made him Protector, made them a Parliament, and therefore was very ſorry they ſhould go about to deſtroy the* Settlement, *which to prevent, and ceaſe ſuch Debates (though he denyed any negative voice) he was neceſſitated to appoint a Teſt or Recognition of the Government as it was eſtabliſhed (by every Member) before they ſate again.*

This bogled at firſt three quarters of them, eſpecially the Commonwealth-men, and thoſe of the late Long Parliament, ſo that of four hundred and odd there appeared but two hundred, but were made up at laſt three hundred, for the old ones would not be baulked ſo, & fell afreſh upon the ſame diſputes, and ran out the Articles, reſolving to put the whole judgement of the Houſe upon them, into one entire Bill, and ſo preſent it, but in truth to ſpin out time, and work upon the Protectors occaſions for mony, which was propoſed in the Houſe, and coldly and ſlowly conſidered.

Juſt at their ſitting down, the Protector publiſhed ſeveral Ordinances, which being paſſed and bore date before, were to paſſe as authentique as Acts by the Inſtrument, one for paying the money into the Treaſury, that was raiſed for the propagation of the Goſpel in *Wales*, another for making Soldiers free

free of all Corporations, and to exercise any Trades; Another to turn out all honest men under the notion of scandalous Preachers and Ministers, Common-Prayer being their chiefest Imputation; and a fourth to survey Kings Lands, &c. and for doubling upon Deans and Chapters, which sales those many changes of power had much retarded and depretiated. The more occult cause of the publication of these Ordinances, was to let the Parliament understand that *Oliver* took his *Instrument* to be in a good *case*, and sufficiently warranted already.

In this Convention *Lambert* laboured Tooth and Nail to have the Instrument confirmed, for by that the Protectorate was left undermined and Elective, threatning them that if this Parliament would not, they would call four or five Parliaments one after another till it was Enacted; (the same Art of menacing which *Oliver* used to the preceding Juncto), but that not prevailing (the Parliament dissolved) by his Interest in the Army, He procured Addresses both from *Scotland* and *Ireland*, as well as here, declaring their Resolution to stand by this Government in defence of the Protectors Life and Dignity against all Opposition; which in this Stratocracy was to be as good a Security as Parliamentory Assent. There were some Superiour Officers, as Lieut. Col. Majors, and Captains, who were yet for a Commonwealth, who had private Meetings, and contrived the seizing this Rebell, and deliver him to the Justice of the Parliament: but by *Pride's* Discovery, who was made privy to this business, they were

were prevented, and their Commissions only taken away; *Cromwel* not willing by severer punishments to make a noise that there was such a potent Faction in the Army.

*Lambert* was very officious in this matter, as neither *resenting* the late affront put upon him by *Cromwell* (when he advanced *Fleetwood* in his place to the Supreme Command in *Ireland*, though with lesser Title then he arrogated, who made magnificent preparation for his investiture in the Lieutenantship, & would suffer no Diminution of that Honour) nor *senting* his future designs and cheats, as to his promised Succession to the Soveraignty here.

During those Protectoral Intrigues, the King's Interest had got such footing again in *England*, that all, or most of the Gentlemen and Counties thereof, were engaged for it, and therefore while *Lambert* managed one Province, (the Affairs of the Parliament) wherein *Oliver* would not descend so low, as to be pragmatical, and Sceptically busy with their Debates against His power, as wrested and usurped from the people; He was mainly intent upon the proceedings of the Royallists, the particulars whereof he had betrayed to him weekly, a constant correspondence being held betwixt him and one *Manning* a Retainer, and Under-Secretary to the King at *Colen*, his Father being killed in his Service at *Alresford* in the year 1644.

The price of this Treason was no lesse then 6000. *l.* a year, most whereof came to the King by this fellows hands, as sent over by his & his friends procurement, but on purpose by so notable a service in

in the Kings neceſſities, to ſcrue himſelf into the ſecrets of His Majeſties deſigns.

Hence came the Weſtern Aſſociation and Attempt of the noble *Penruddock* in the Weſt, to be ſo ſuddenly defeated, with the like Inſurrections in ſeveral parts of *England* in the year 1654. For upon certain notice of the days appointed for their riſing, *Cromwell* to be before hand with them gave out ſuppoſed and falſe days, & made the like Appearances, particularly at *Shrewsbury*, by which means the confederates came to conceive there was ſome Treachery among themſelves, and did then wiſely deſiſt from the danger of taking publique Arms againſt him; For a fuller accompt of all which, I muſt refer the Reader to the Hiſtories of the Times lately publiſhed, though I ſhould take notice of his cruelty againſt thoſe unfortunate Gentlemen.

The Event of this, by which he had overeached the King in his own deſigns, and the Hopes of his rich ſucceſſes in the *Weſt-Indies* (by robbing another Prince) whether his Fleet and Army under General *Pen* and *Venables* was now arrived, (which alſo I ſhall only mention, for the Story is trite and vulgar) made *Oliver* moſt blith and confident, and his Court of Beggers and ſuch like mean people, very gay and jocund; A great deal of State was now uſed towards him, and the *French* Cringe, and other ceremonious pieces of gallantry and good deportment, which were thought unchriſtian and favouring of Carnality, introduced in place of auſtere and down looks, and the ſilent Mummery of ſtarched and Hypocritical gravity, the only becoming

Dreſſe

Dreſs (forſooth) of Piety and Religion. He had now a Guard of Halberdiers in gray Coats, welted with black Velvet; over whom *Walter Strickland* was Captain; and a Lord Chamberlain Sir *Gilbert Pickering*; Two Maſters of Requeſts, Mr. *Bacon* and Mr. *Sadler*; a Maſter of his Horſe, his Son *Claypoole*; and generally all Officers of Honor both to his own perſon, and his Wives, who very frugally Huſwifed it, and would nicely and finically tax the expenſive unthriftineſs (as ſaid ſhe) of the *Other Woman* who lived there before her. But I muſt not engage here in her impertinencies, though a many pretty ſtories ſhall happily be told of this obſolete *Princeſſe*.

It will be requiſite to ſpeak ſomething of his manner and courſe of Life, now raiſed to a very neer fruition of the Soverainty, this being the Solſtice of his Fortunes. His Cuſtome was now to divert himſelf frequently at *Hampton-Court*, (which he had ſaved from Sale, with other Houſes of the Kings for his own greatneſſe) whither he went and came in poſt with his Guards behind and before, as not yet ſecure of his Life from the juſtice of ſome avenging hand; Here he uſed to hunt, and at the fall of a Deer, where he would be ſure to be preſent, embrue his hands in the blood of it, and therewith aſperſe and ſprinckle the Attendants: and ſometimes to cokes the neighbouring Ruſticks, give them a Buck he had hunted, and money to drink with it; His own Diet was very ſpare and not ſo curious, except in publique Treatments, which were conſtantly given every Monday in the Week, to all the Officers

Officers of the Army not below a Captain, where he dined with them, and shewed a hundred Antick Tricks, as throwing of Cushions, and putting live Coals into their Pockets and Boots; a Table being likewise spread every day of the week for such Officers as should casually come to Court, and this was his greatest expence, which and other charges of the Government, he levyed as yet by his and his Counсels Ordinances, as duely and respectfully obeyed as Acts of Parliament.

With these Officers while he seemed to disport himself, taking off his Drink freely, and opening himself every way to the most free familiarity, He did meerly lye at the Catch of what should incogitantly and with such unsuspected provocation fall from their Mouths, which he would be sure to record and lay up against his occasion of reducing them to the Speakers memory, who were never like to forget the prejudice and damage they had incurred by such loose Discoveries of their Minds and Inclinations.

He was a great Lover of Musick, and entertained the most skilfullest in that Science in his pay and Family; in that like wicked *Saul*, who when the evil Spirit was upon him, thought to lay and still him with those Harmonious charms; but generally he respected or at least pretended a Love to all ingenious and eximious persons in any Arts, whom he procured to be sent or brought to him, but the niggardlinesse and incompetence of his reward, shewed that this was a personated Act of Greatnesse, and that private *Cromwell* yet governed Prince *Oliver*.

ver. Amongst the rest of those *Virtuosi*, He favoured a Poet too, who very elegantly saying his *Marston-Moor* Exploit, but with more misfortune then others, who made the Muses Slaves to his Triumphs, and *Pegasus* to draw his Chariot.

He had twenty other freaks in his head, for sometimes before he had half dined, he would give order for a Drum to beat, and call in his Foot Guards, like a Kennel of Hounds, to snatch off the meat from his Table, and tear it in pieces; the like Joco's and Frisks he would have with other Company; even with some few of the Nobility, when he would not stick to tell them, what Company they had lately kept, when and where they had drank the Kings health and the Royal Families, bidding them when they did it again, to do it more privately, and this without any passion, and as Festivous, Droll discourse.

But upon the news of the Defeat at *Hispaniola*, whence he had promised himself Mountaines of Gold, and Rocks of Gems, to the maintainance of his Mamalukes, and perpetuating the Army, and the Royalists breeding new Designs, he began to cast of the Merry Divel and act the Tyrant altogether, and not without Cause. For

The effects of this Parliament rupture encouraged two most opposite parties to conspire against this Protector, the Monarchists and Cavaliers (as we must so distinguish the Royal party upon this difference,) who longed for their rightful Soveraign *Charles* the Second, the Fifth Monarchy expected King *Jesus*, the Courtiers and those engaged by them

them or with them, with *Cromwell* himself, desired King *Oliver*; and every one of these manifested much impatience, but none of them could attain their Wishes, and when *Oliver* might afterwards, he durst not. The Protector was no way ignorant of this, and therefore he resolved to deal with the weakest first, which yet by underminings was more dangerous then the other: The Army was corrupted by that Millenary Principle, and that was to be purged, so that as *Harrison* and *Rich* had been laid aside, and not long after committed with *Carew* and *Courtney* into several remote Castles; so now Gen. *Monck* had order to seize Major General *Overton*, and the Majors *Bramston* and *Holmes*, and other Officers, and Cashier them, after Fines and good security for their Behaviour; *Overton* was sent up to the Tower, and his Regiment conferred on Coll. *Morgan*; Collonel *Okey's* Regiment taken from him, and given to a sure Confider, and so the danger from the Army was quickly suppresst: Cornet but now Collonel *Joyce*, was likewise male-content at this Change, and signified so much to *Cromwell's* Face, whom he upbraided with his own Service and Faithfulness, but escaped any other Censure then a bidding him be gone; *Cromwell* well knowing him to be one of those mad men that would say or do any thing they were bid.

Now happned occasion, or rather *Cromwell* made it one, for him to shew his zeal to the Protestant Cause, and publish himself to the World the Champion or Hector thereof; this was also one secret step and reach to the Crown, by invading the *sa-*

*cred*

*ered Title* of the *Defender* of the *Faith*, due only to the Hereditary Soveraigns of *England*: Herein alſo he aimed, as in the Proverb, *to hit two Birds with one Stone*, not doubting but to find another Mine in the charitable minds and compaſſion of this Nation towards the parallel ſufferings of the old *Waldenſes* in *Piedmont* to the *Iriſh* Maſſacres, which were ſet out and dreſt here with greater Skill of Butchery, then the Actors could handſomly do it there, and it was ſaid the Copy was drawn from that Original.

Alderman *Viner* and *Pack* were made Treaſurers for this money, which amounted to a very large ſum, and reached the full deſign of the Protector, a ſmall parcel whereof was now remitted to *Geneva*, the French King having newly before accommodated the buſineſſe, the Duke refuſing to admit *Cromwell*'s Mediation.

There was another Artifice of the Protectors to ſet this buſineſſe forward, and to countenance it, which was, Addreſſes from the Army here and abroad, offering their Service in this common cauſe of the Proteſtant Religion, no way doubting but that God in his due time would confound thoſe Enemies of his People, as he had ſhewn his ſalvation by themſelves, in the ſame Controverſie to that day.

A new Plot was now ſtarted, and moſt of the Nobility and Gentlemen of *England* ſecured, Sir *Geoffry Palmer*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, Lord *Lovelace*, Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord *Newport*, and Sir *Richard Wingfield*, Lords *Maynard*, *Petre*, *Lu-*

*eas*, and *Faulkland*, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, &c. and this done by *Manning*, whose Villany was not yet discovered, though to render a due Account of him, his Treachery was before related. County Troops were now also established for security of his Highnesse, such Trooper 8 *l.* a year pay and more in case of Service, a Captain a 100 *l.* and Officers proportionably; and as these new Forces were raised here, so were other old ones disbanded in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, in which last place the disbanded were yet to be the same kind of *Militia* they being setled in the Rebel forfeited Lands, their Tenure being their Service, and thus that Kingdome was re-peopled. An Agent that had come hither from *Ragotzi* Prince of *Transilvania*, now departed, the Conspiracy betwixt whom and the King of *Sweden*, and the *Swede* and *Cromwel* was just ripe for execution.

The *Spanish* War therefore commencing, the Protector began new practices against the Cavalier party, whose interest and spirit was against his Government as high as ever: he foresaw that by the *French* peace, the King only shifted and changed war from one quarter to another, and was yet as neer as before, and in a more opportune and advantagious posture, for that the King of *Spain* and he would certainly concur against him, and so the Low Countries, his Provinces and Ports be open and at the Service of our Soveraign, therefore his party was by all ways, how unjust and tyrannical soever to be crush'd and suppreſt; it began with the Clergy who were neither to keep School, nor cure, nor be Chaplains,

lains, except they gave ſignal teſtimony of their Apoſtacy from the Church; it next extended to all ſorts of men, by the revived Act of 1652, forbidding all Cavaliers or ſuch as meant well to the peace of the Kingdom in their ſubſcription to the perſonal Treaty in 1648. by a new Proclamation to that purpoſe, from giving Voyces of Electing, or to be Elected themſelves upon their utmoſt peril: then came out a Declaration for Decimating ſuch who were actually in Arms; and to ſhew the Reaſons of ſuch proceedings againſt them, *Cromwel* therein taking it for granted, that the whole Maſs of them were engaged in the late deſign of *Penruddocks*, and obſerving their Malignity to the Government, by refuſing to match their Relations but within themſelves, and ſo to propagate the quarrel from one Generation to another; that they ſupplied their King (as they call'd him) with money, that their Clergy were as refractory as ever; and that therefore ſince by them the Peace ſo endangered could not be kept, nor the cauſe and well affected ſecured but by keeping up a ſtanding Army by a conſtant pay, it was requiſite the charge ſhould be born by thoſe who cauſed it.

For the better diſpatch of this Affair, he had erected a new Military Authority, like the *Turkiſh Baſhaws*, diſtributed into ſeveral Provinces or Counties, with an unbounded power, *England* being now cantoned into this *Hendecharchy*, viz. *Kent* and *Surrey* under Col. *Kelſey*; *Suſſex*, *Hantſhire*, and *Berk-ſhire* under *Goff*; *Glouceſterſhire*, *Wilts*, *Dorſet*, *Somerſet*, *Devon*, and *Cornwal*, under Col. *Desborough*;

rough; *Oxfordſhire Buckingham, Hartford, Cambridge, Iſle of Ely, Eſſex, Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, under Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*; *London*, Major General *Skippon*; *Lincolnſhire, Nottingham, Derby, Warwick* and *Leiceſter* under *Whalley*; *Northamptonſhire, Bedford, Rutland* and *Huntingdon*, under villanous *Butler*; *Worceſterſhire, Hereford, Shropſhire* and *North-wales* under Coll. *Berry*; *Cheſhire, Lancaſhire* & *Stafford* under Col. *Worſely*; *York-ſhire, Durham, Cumberland, Northumberland* and *Weſtmorland*, under Lord *Lambert*; *Weſtminſter* and *Middleſex*, under Col. *Berkſtead*: their Commiſſion was to take a Roll and Account of all ſuſpected perſons of the Kings party, and ſuch as were actually ſo, to receive ſecurity of them, in which they were to be bound to act nothing againſt the Government, and to reveal all Plots that ſhould come to their knowledge: they were to ſuppreſs all Horſe-Races, Cock matches, & other concourſes of people, to ſecure the High Ways, to take engagement from Cavaliers, for their Servants, and Children, & thoſe that did not ſo, nor give ſecurity, to commit to priſon, and to rate and receive the mony riſing from this Decimation. In ſhort there was nothing which they might not do, nor which they did not; ſuch an Arbitrary vaſt power they had from the Protector. To this purpoſe a M. Gen. Office was erected in *Fleetſtreet*, as other Courts had, where theſe Recognizances were entred, and all other the like Affairs, dependencies, & concerns thereof entred & recorded; by this means the Tyrant intended to inform himſelf of the value and quality of every Eſtate and perſon,

perſon, together with the number of that party in every County throughout the Kingdom. Moſt of thoſe Loyal perſons formerly ſecured were hereupon ſet at liberty, but by another 20. Mile Proclamation driven into the Country, into the bounds of the ſeveral Major Generals, who preſently took cognizance of them, and ſummoned them to their reſpective Reſidences: they ſate ſometimes without, other times with ſome of the old Committees, where they received accounts of Eſtates, which were rated to the tenth peny yearly. Some bought off that Tax and incumbrance by a preſent Sum, at three years purchaſe, which was very acceptable, for mony was the thing the Uſurper wanted, others looked for a nearer Redemption, and to be conſtrained to that payment: the well affected and godly people voiced this to be a juſt and reaſonable impoſition, for when ſhould they be at quiet, and enjoy themſelves in the goods they had got, free from the interrupting endevour of this old and reſtleſs Enemy? ſo that there wanted not Abettors & Aſſiſtants, to this moſt religious work of the Major Generals; who had ordered in the firſt place, that no Cavalier ſhould keep or wear either Arms offenſive or defenſive but ſtreightwayes deliver them, ſo that they lay at the mercy of whomſoever they met, and at the Diſcretion and charity of whoſoever reſorted to their Houſes, for what they had left.

The Barbarous Cruelty and Severity of theſe *Baſhawes*, to the Orthodox Clergy, while with the *Hotneſſe* of the perſecution it ſuffocated the true Religion, did warm and foſter the viperous brood of

Sects and Heresies into monstrous luxuriances; For besides the Ranter, who at this time began to infest the Church, and multiply exceedingly, and the *Socinian*, who denied the Divinity of *Christ*; one *Biddle* being infamous for those impious opinions, as *Erbury* formerly a Minister for *Ranting*; the *Quakers* appeared like *Locusts*, and overspread the whole Kingdom. even to the Disquiet of *Oliver* himself, who could not endure to hear of their Anti-Magisterial-principles, the Schisme consisting chiefly of such as had been of the Army or rebel Faction. The Heighth of that Phrenzy and Delusion so possessed the haughty mind of one *James Naylor* (as if Pride and Ambition were the raigning secular sins) that he fancied himself to be our Saviour, procuring such Worship to be done him, as was due only to that Blessed Divinity. This Blasphemous Impostor was severely punished by the consent of *Oliver* (who perceived *Lambert*, whose Soldier this was formerly, to stickle for him on design to cajole his party;) But not from any sense of this Impiety, and zeal to Christ or his Worship, for he had lately struck a Bargain with the *Jews* that *deny* him, but the Ministers who were to dispute with *Ben Israel* their Agent, contrary to command dissenting from his covetous project, He only gulled them of their earnest mony.

By this mixture of subtlety with Cruelty and Rapine of all sorts, he had so establish'd himself, and his formidable greatnesse, engaging in a forraign war with the *French* against the *Spaniard* in *Flanders*, whither he sent Commissary General *Reynolds* with 6000 men, who joyntly took in *St. Venant* and

*Mardike* in the close of the Summer 1647. the latter being put into *English* hands) that the Royal party began truly to dread his mischievous power, the effects whereof were felt also in very remote parts of the World, in the *Polish* and *Danish* War, by his partaking with & assisting the K. of *Sweden* (when he pretended a Mediation between them, having dispatch'd Mr. *Rolt* of his Bedchamber, and Collonel *Jephson* to *Carolus Gustavus*, and Mr. now Sir *Philip Meadows*, to *Frederick* King of *Denmark*) to the diverting the *German* Emperour, to the care of his own Dominions, and by that means depriving the *Spaniard* of his aid, and consequently frustrating all his Majesties designs of recovering, his rights to these Kingdoms.

I must omit his Successes by *Blake* at *Porta Ferina*, and *Sancta Cruz*, for which the *English* valour was famous; as also Sir *Richard Stayners* taking and Spoyling 7. Galleys from the *West-Indies*, laden with Plate, which were substantial Trophies, and made his power terribly renowned.

And therefore now he thought it time to shew his Son *Richard* to the World, whom to (avoid the Suspicion of designing the Soveraignty to be Hereditary in his Family, and to amuse *Lambert* who would not brook other Successor then himself His Rival if not Superiour now in the affection of the Army, he had kept in the Country, in *Hampshire* (where he had married the Daughter of one *Major* of *Southampton*, with a very plentifull fortune, the support and maintenance of him now) among the Converse of the Gentry Royallists to insinuate into

their affection and good liking by ſome kind of Offices and Civilities he procured from Court, and by his own debonair and affable Diſpoſitions; The firſt publique Honour done him was the Chancellorſhip of *Oxford*, in which he was ſolemnly inveſted after his Father had purpoſely reſigned it at *Whitehall*, next he was ſworn a Privy Councellor, and made a Collonel in the Army, to have an Interſt in all parties and parts of the Body Politique, and not long after in the next Parliament, after their receſſe, the firſt Lord of the other Houſe, and now ſtyled the moſt Noble Lord *Richard*, and rife diſcourſes there were of *Richard* the Fourth, but they proved no more then the ſtory of Queen *Dick*.

His Son *Harry Cromwel* lately married to Sir *William Ruſſells* Daughter, he likewiſe ſent in the quality of Lord Lieutenant, to ſucceed his Son in Law *Fleetwood*, in *Ireland*, only *Scotland* could not be taken from General *Monck*, and diſpoſed in the hands of his more confident Relations, *Fleetwood* or *Desborough* being deſigned for that Government. His Daughters likewiſe were all married, *Elizabeth* his Darling, before his late Greatneſſe, to a private Gentleman, one Mr. *Cleypole* of *Warwick-ſhire*; his Daughter *Mary* to the Lord Viſcount *Fauconberg*, the noble Family of the *Bellaſis*; and his younger Daughter *Frances* to Mr. *Robert Rich*, eldeſt Son to *Robert* Lord *Rich*, and Grandſon to *Rob.* Earl of *Warwick*, all three of which *Rich's* dyed within one year after this unfortunate and unglorious Match. So that he thought he had eſtabliſhed his Houſe: but the Foundation being laid in *Sand* tempered with Blood,

Blood, the next goſt and boyſterous Wind blew it like Chaffe, and ſcattered and diſperſed it to nothing.

From this haughty confidence he was invited to call another Parliament, and to aſſume from thence the long awaited reſult of his Ambition, the Crown Imperial of *England*. All other things moreover did ſeem to conſpire to the ſame purpoſe, except the Levelling Fifth Monarchy party, and *Lambert*: for the Presbyterian and other Sectaries, who had their hands full of Sacrilegious and Treaſonable Penny-worths, of Eccleſiaſtical and Crown and Delinquents Lands, were moſt eagerly deſirous of a ſettlement of the Government by Law, that might ſecure and confirm their purchaſes; the more indifferent Royaliſts preferred any Legal (no manner how or what) Authority, rather then be continually tasked and oppreſſed by the outragious unlimited violence of the Major Generals, whom *Cromwel* had on purpoſe ſet up, as he did the Little or Fooliſh Parliament, to make another Title he gaped at, more acceptable to the People.

As to the Fifth Monarchy men, he had neerly pried into that danger, and ſeized and took the chief of that Party, among whom was *Venner* the *Wine-Cooper*, being engaged ſomewhat after in a Plot, in a houſe in *Shoreditch*, where ſome Arms were taken, and an Enſign with a *Lyon couchant* of the Tribe of *Judah* painted in it, having this Motto, *Who ſhall rouze him up?*

And hereupon *Harriſon*, *Carew*, *Rich*, Vice-Admiral *Lawſon*, *Courtney*, *Portman*, *Day*, and the like,

were impriſoned in remote places, as Col. *Overton*, Major *Holmes*, and others of the ſame party, had been ſeized as before in *Scotland*, and caſhired by General *Monck*, according to *Cromwell*'s Order, and ſent up Priſoners to the *Tower* of *London*.

As to the *Levellers*, he had lately diſcovered their practiſes and combinations againſt him, and had likewiſe clapt up the chief of them; one Major *Wildman*, in order to his Tryal being taken at *Marleborough*, inditing and drawing Declarations againſt him; ſo that they were at a ſtand and a loſſe which way to proceed, to the unſetling and over-throw of his Tyrannical power procured by ſo many tricks and cheats put upon them by him; ſo that afterwards when they began private Subſcriptions to Petitions, and Addreſſes to the Parliament againſt the Kingſhip, he peremptorily upon their peril forbid them to intermeddle with their Conſultations, and ſo awed and daſhed them, that they never offered any more afterwards, to hold up ſo much as a Finger againſt him. *Lambert* was the only impediment, and we ſhall ſee him neatly and quietly removed and diſcarded like the reſt of his former Confidents.

This *Olivarian* Parliament brought together by theſe means was not leſſe awed in its Election by the Major Generals (they themſelves and all their friends being returned for Members, while the Gentry and other Honeſt men being confined or under ſome qualification or other, could not, or dared not appear, particularly Coll. *Berkſtead*, and *Kiffin* the Anabaptiſt, by Voyces of Red-coats got themſelves

ſelves returned Knights of the Shire for the County of *Middleſex*, with Sir *William Roberts*, and Mr. *Chute* (as the Inſtrument directed;) then in the Admiſſion to the Houſe, where a Recognition of his Highneſſe and the Government by a ſingle perſon, with a Guard of Soldiers was ready placed, and unleſſe each Member ſwallowed the one, he might not paſſe the other, by which means almoſt 200. were at the firſt daſh ſecluded, thoſe within taking no notice of the force, but referring the excluded to the Examination of the Privy Council.

The firſt Work this Parliament did was their declaring the Juſtice of the War againſt *Spain* (the *Cromwellian* party perſonating the Intereſt and Honour of the Nation, that they might by that be looked upon for all this garbling, as a due repreſentative, and to credit their enſuing By-blowes) and a Reſolution to aſſiſt the Protector in it. And next as the grand and Liminary work to *Oliver's* Regality, *An Act for the renouncing the Title of His Majeſty, and the whole Line of King* James; ſeconded with another for the Security of His Highneſſe perſon, in which they alledged the peace and ſafety of the Nation was bound up.

And that this might appear more neceſſary and opportune, a Plot was hatched by *Cromwell* and *Thurloe*, foe further quaſhing all *Levelling* and *Fifth Monarchy* deſigns againſt that party; a Book had likewiſe been lately divulged, ſtyled *Killing no Murther*, wherein it was proved, that it was moſt lawful, juſt, neceſſary and honourable to kill him, and this Printed with the Name of one *Allen* a diſbanded

banded Leveller, but so politely and learnedly written, that it intimated a more exact and curious hand; whose ever it was, it scared *Cromwel* almost out of his Wits, and made him betake himself to perventionary Artifices, and fright Assassinates with his Severity against the Suppositious Authors of pretended dangers.

This Scare-Crow was one *Miles Syndercombe* a disband of *Overton*'s in *Scotland* by General *Monck*, a Leveller and Fifth Monarchist, both which parties he conjoyned in this trap, as most feared by him, by the wily Arts of *Thurloe*, who set one *Cecil*, and *Toop* of *Cromwell*'s Life-Guard, to urge this Male-content into a Conspiracy of the Protectors Death; This was readily assented to, and several Engines and Instruments fixed for that purpose and places appointed, and *Whitehall* Chappel to be fired; all which was from time to time discovered, and *Syndercombe* after the last vain experiment, seized and arraigned, and after a careless defence convicted and sentenced for Treason, which he avoided (as the Coroners Jury gave their Verdict) by poysoning himself in the *Tower* the night before his Execution, and was drawn at a Horse Tail to *Tower-hill*, and inhumed, and a Stake driven through him under the Scaffold.

For this Delivery of his Highnesse the *Parliament* voted a Thanks-giving, and attended him at the *Banquetting-House* in *Whitehall* with a gratulatory Oration, setting forth the Ruine that was intended in that Horrible Treason to the whole *Protestant Religion* throughout the World, with the like parasitical

rastical designed falshoods, but to the almost spoiling the Complement, the Stairs in the ascending broke, and lamed *Richard Cromwell* and others who for amends were invited to dinner there upon the Thanksgiving-day; and that Courtesy requited by a more gaudy Gift.

For the next day Alderman *Pack* (a great Excise Commissioner, & in greater Arrears for it to 30000*l.* and deep in the *Piedmont* Account) from the advantage of this *Royal* Treat, suddenly started a Motion like a Puppet jerkt with a Wire, that in regard of the strange unsettlement and discomposure of the Nation, and the minds of men, and the ill Aspect it had upon forraign Princes, and all Trade; that therefore the Protector might be desired to assume the style of King, as the most known and most agreeable Government: and presently tooth and nail the Court party were at it; and after sundry consultations passed a Resolution in order to his being Kinged by the second part of the Instrument, called *The Humble Petition and Advice of the Parliament*, which being now in debate we must pursue with a further Account.

The suitable political talk of the party of the Usurper, was now engaged in strained Arguments, for a Monarchy in the person of this their Ring-Leader, and this Maxime was broach'd in the News-Book, That there was no everlasting principle in Government as to any particular form; that Government is but a temporary expedient, that it is like *Ultima tabula post Naufragium*, in the hazard of the Common-wealth the next shift may be made use of.

The

The ſame was the inſpired reaſon into the Humble Petition and Advice, which after ſeveral debates and reſolutions was drawn into that Conſiſtency, the main whereof was to deſire the Protector to change that Title for the other of King. On the 9. of *April*, the Parliament having deſired a Meeting with him, came to the *Banquetting-houſe* in *Whitehall*, where Sir *Thomas Widdrington* in a Speech commended the Title and Office of a King, as ſetled here with Chriſtianity, approved by our Anceſtors, conſiſting with our Laws and Temper of the people, and then preſented him with the Module of the Humble Petition, *&c.* To this tender, *Cromwell* in a fit of Devotion, anſwered, *That it was a weighty matter, and therefore deſired ſpace to ſeek God, that the charge laid upon him was too great for him to bear without His Aſſiſtance, that the Engliſh were the beſt people in the World, and required therefore all tenderneſſe and conſideration of their Liberties*, &c.

The next day a Committee was appointed to attend him, and receive his Anſwer, which being inſignificant, they upon report thereof reſolved to adhere to their Petition, and appointed a Committee of above half the Houſe to attend him, to receive from him his doubts and ſcruples touching any of the particulars contained in the Petition, *&c.* and to offer reaſons for this ſatisfaction, for the maintenance of the Reſolution of the Houſe, and wherein they cannot ſatifie to report. The chief of this Committee were Mr. *Whitlock*, Lord Chief Juſtice *Glyn*, Lord *Broghall*, *Lenthall*, *Liſle*, *Philip Jones*, *Fiennes*, *Strickland*, *Thurloe*, Sir *Richard Onſlow*, Sir *Charles Woolſley*, &c.

We

We have through theſe *Labyrinths* of his ſhifted Deſigns, now *clued* him to his *luſtful* and *adulterous* Uſurpation, which the *nocturnal pollutions* of his *Dreams* had ſo long before *fancied* and *acted* in his thoughts.

This was the critical Time, and the very Juncture of his accompliſhment of all his projections upon the Crown, which now ſeemed to court his Browes by the complemental tender of a Parliament ſo pick'd and cull'd to his purpoſe. But it pleaſed God to reſcue the Honour and Majeſty of *England*, from the prophanation of his Temples; by ſome ſudden emergent dangers, and Suſpicions he raiſed in his Breaſt, and to elude his Royal Phantaſmes with Rival and Democratick apparitions; His Oracles now ceaſed, and a lying Spirit was in the mouth of his Prophets, who in their preachments harped upon this Subject. Now that the Reader may know how the whole myſtery and cabal of this Buſineſſe was managed by the abovementioned Committee (who would fain have drawn *Oliver* under the yoak of Laws, and retrencht his exorbitant power of the Sword) and *Cromwel* (who feared they would fortifie his Title, and weaken his Tenure, and had notice that *Lambert* laboured in the Debauch of the Army) He is here preſented with the ſum of that abortive Regal Conſultation, which like the Philoſophers Stone, or rather the Apples of *Sodom*, vaniſhed and periſhed in the Attrectation.

After many Meetings and conferences together at *Whitehall*, the Commiſſioners being impowered to receive his Highneſſes Scruples, at his requeſt (the whole

whole Affair being managed with Royal State and respect to him) they came to these Disputes. It was alledged by the Committee who were to offer and make play, that the Title of King had been confirmed by all Parliaments, for 1300 years, and the person, not the name, displeasing to any of them. That it was interwoven with the Laws, and the very consent of this Parliament in being.

To this the Protector answered that these were suasory not convincing or compulsive Arguments. That the Title of the Protector might be made accommodable to the Laws, by the consent of the Parliament, as well as the Title of King was made so by the same; that the Title of King would be displeasing to many godly men, and Officers of the Army, who had declared against the Title and Office.

To these it was replied, *That the Title ought to be accommodated to the Laws, not the Laws to it. That Invention of Titles was suspected as the Veil or Concealment of some design against the publique; and that therefore the Parliament of England, had scrupled the new Title of King of* Great Brittain, *to King* James. *That if he regarded not his own Honour and Greatnesse yet he should respect the Honour and Reputation of the Kingdome. That the name of Protector had always been unfortunate to the Kingdome during the Minority of our Princes, and also to themselves. That it being given him by the Soldiery it founded of Conquest. That when the Kingly Title was abolished in the* Roman Empire, *nothing but confusion followed, nor could the State find Rest, either under Consul, or Dictators, or Prince of the Senate, until the pleasure of*

*and will of* Cæſar *came to be acknowledged for Law.*

Other inſtances there were of the Commiſſioners, who ſeverally by order of the Committee delivered their Anſwers to him, as namely the reaſon of the Change of the Stile of Lord to King of *Ireland* in *H.* 8. time, for the better and more regular Government of that Nation, and Examples of a neighbouring Proteſtant Kingdome of *Sweden*, who had crowned their Marſhal that took up Arms with them againſt their Soveraign, but their main Argument was drawn from the Statutes of 9 *Edw.* 4. & 3 *H.* 7. by which all perſons were indempnified that took up Arms for the King in being, which was one and the chief reaſon ſaid *Whitlock*, why ſo many at firſt aſſiſted the King againſt the Parliament, and would be his Highneſſes caſe and ſecurity. And laſtly to his Argument of diſpleaſing many godly men, and that Providence ſeemed to croſſe the Introduction of the Kingly Office by a ſeven years overthrow of it: He was anſwered that the reduction of the Commonwealth to Monarchy, was a greater Act then from Monarchy to the Protectorate; that in all Governments ſome men would be unſatisfied, and that therefote his ſafeſt way would be rely on this Settlement by the Parliament. But after all *Cromwells* fears ſurmounted his ambition, and he told them in a long *Harangue*, that he could not accept the Title of K. it being againſt his conſcience.

The Protector having refuſed the Title of King (awaiting a more opportune time and advantage to reach to that top and heighth of his Ambition, which inwardly tormented him) was now by the Parliament to be confirmed in his former dignity, and a

Committee called of the Settlement was ordered to prepare an Explanatory part to the Humble Petition and Advice, in respect of the Protectors Oath, his Councils, the Members of *Parliament*, the other House, which was to consist of 60. and odd Lords of *Cromwells* Election, of whom it will be needless to give an Account, all which with some Acts being prepared and finished, the *Protector* came to the *Painted Chamber*, and sent for the *Parliament*, where the Speaker tendred him these Acts of State, besides others relating unto Trade, *&c. An Act for Assessement of* 60000 l. *a Month, for* 3. *Months, from* March, *for the three Kingdomes. Another money Act for* 50000 l *for* England, 6000 l. *for* Scotland, *and* 9000 l. *for* Ireland. *An Act for preventing multiplicity of Buildings in and about the Suburbs of* London, *and within* 10. *Miles thereof; and a whole years Revenue to be paid for every Dwelling, or house built upon any new Foundation since* 1620. *and (this was the reason and soul of that Law.) An Act for punishing such as live at high rates and have no visible Estates: And lastly for the observation of the Lords Day*; there was a Bill for ascertaining and satisfying the *Publique Faith*, that these *Patriots* might seem to intend the ease of the people, but it was but once read and committed, and resumed afterwards to as much purpose very briskly by the Council of this *Protector*. At the Signing of these *Cromwell* made this short Speech.

*I perceive, that among these many Acts of Parliament, there hath been a very great care had by the Parliament, to provide for the just and necessary support of the Common-wealth, by these Bills for levying*

*vying of money now brought to me, which I have given my Consent unto; and* understanding *it hath been the practice of those who have been chief Governors, to acknowledge with thanks to the* Commons, *their care and regard of the Publick: I do very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindnesse herein.*

The principal substance of the Humble Petition, *&c.* was this,

1. *That his Highnes under the Title of Lord Protector, would be pleased to exercise the Office of Chief Magistrate of* England, *&c. and to govern according unto all things in this Petition and Advice; also, that in his life time he would appoint the Person that should succeed in the government after his death.* 2. *That he would call Parliaments consisting of* 2 *Houses once in* 3 *years at farthest.* 3. *That those persons who are legally chosen by a free election of the people to serve in Parliament, may not be excluded from doing their duties, but by consent of that House whereof they are Members.* 4. *In the fourth, was shewn the qualifications of Parliament-Members.* 5. *In the fifth, the power of the other Honse.* 6. *That the Laws and Statutes of the Land be observed and kept, and no Laws altered, suspended, abrogated, repealed, or new Law made, but by Act of Parliament.* 7. *For a constant yearly Revenue,* 1000000 l. *to be setled for maintenance of the Navy and Army; and* 300000 l. *for support of the government, besides other temporary supplies, as the Commons in Parliament shall see the necessities of the Nations to require.* 8. *That the number of the Protectors Council should not be above* 21, *whereof the Quorum to be* 7. *and not under.* 9. *The chief Officers of State, as Chancellors, Keepers*

*of the Great Seal*, &c. *to be approved of by Parliament.* 10. *That his Highneſſe would encourage a godly Miniſtry in theſe Nations; and that ſuch as do revile or diſturb them in the Worſhip of God, may be puniſhed according to Law; and where the Laws are defective, new ones to be made in that behalf.* 11 *That the Proteſtant Chriſtian Religion be profeſſed & no other; & that a Confeſſion of Faith be agreed upon & recommended to the people of theſe Nations; and none be permitted by words or writings to revile or reproach the ſaid Confeſſion of Faith*, &c.

Which he having Signed, declared his acceptance in theſe words.

*That he came thither that day, not as to a Triumph, but with the moſt ſerious thoughts that ever he had in all his Life, being to undertake one of the greateſt burthens, that ever was laid upon the back of any humane Creature; ſo that without the ſupport of the Almighty, he muſt ſink under the weight of it, to the damage and prejudice of theſe Nations. This being ſo, he muſt ask help of the Parliament, and of thoſe that fear God, that by their Prayers he might receive aſſiſtance from God: for nothing elſe could enable him to the diſcharge of ſo great a duty and truſt.*

*That ſeing this is but an Introduction to the carrying on of the Government of theſe Nations, and there being many things cannot be which ſupplied, without the aſſiſtance of the Parliament, it was his duty to ask their help in them; not that he doubted, for the* ſame Spirit *that had led the Parliament to this, would eaſily ſuggeſt the ſame to them. For his part nothing would have induced him to take this unſupportable burthen to fleſh and blood, but that he had*

*ſeen*

*ſeen in the Parliament a great care of thoſe things, which might really anſwer the ends that were engaged for, and make clearly for the Liberty of the Nations, and for the Intereſt and preſervation of all ſuch as fear God under various forms. And if theſe Nations be not thankfull to them for their Care therein, it will fall as a ſin upon their heads.*

*Yet there are ſome things wanting that tend to reformation, to the diſcountenancing vice, and encouragement of virtue; but he ſpake not this as in the leaſt doubting their progreſs, but as one that doth heartily deſire, to the end God may Crown their work, that in their own time, and with what ſpeed they judge fit, theſe things may be provided for.*

There remained onely the Solemnity of the Inauguration or Inveſtiture, which being agreed upon by the Committee and the Protector, was by the Parliament appointed to be performed in *Weſtminſter-hall*; here at the upper end whereof, there was an Aſcent raiſed, where a Chair and Canopy of State was ſet, and a Table with another Chair for the Speaker, with Seats built Scaffold-wiſe for the Parliament on both ſides; and places below for the Aldermen of *London*, and the like. All which being in a readineſſe, the Protector came out of a Room adjoyning to the Lords Houſe, and in this order proceeded into the Hall. Firſt went his Gentlemen, then a Herald; next the Aldermen another Herald; the Attorney General; then the Judges (of whom Serjeant *Hill* was one, being made a Baron of the Exchequer, *June* 16.) then *Norroy*, the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury and the Seal carried by Commiſſioner *Fiennes*, then *Garter*, and after him

the Earl of *Warwick* with the Sword born before the Protector, bare-headed, the Lord Mayor *Titchbourn* carrying the City Sword (being the ſpecial Cokes of the Protector) by his left hand: Being ſeated in his Chair, on the left hand whereof ſtood the ſaid *Titchborn* and the *Dutch* Ambaſſador, the *French* Ambaſſador and the Earl of *Warwick* on the Right; next behind him ſtood his Sons *Richard*, *Fleetwood*, *Cleypoole*, and the Privy Councel; upon a lower deſcent ſtood the Lord Viſcount *Liſle*, Lords *Montague* and *Whitlock* with drawn Swords.

Then the Speaker (Sir *Thomas Widdrington*) in the name of the Parliament, preſented to him a Robe of Purple-Velvet, a Bible, a Sword, and a Scepter, at the Delivery of theſe things, the Speaker made a ſhort Comment upon them to the Protector which he divided into four parts, as followeth.

1. The Robe of Purple; *This is an Emblem of Magiſtracy, and imports Righteouſneſſe and Juſtice: When you have put on this Veſtment, I may ſay you are a Gown-man. This* Robe *is of a mixt colour, to ſhew the mixture of Juſtice and Mercy. Indeed a Magiſtrate muſt have two hands,* Plectentem & amplectentem, *to cheriſh, and to puniſh.*

2. The Bible, *it is a Book that contains the Holy Scriptures, in which you have the happineſſe to be well vers'd. This Book of Life conſiſts of two Teſtaments the Old and New: the firſt ſhews* Chriſtum Velatum, *the ſecond* Chriſtum Revelatum; *Chriſt vailed and revealed: it is a Book of Books, and doth contain both Precepts and Examples for good Government.*

3. Here is a Scepter, *not unlike a Staff; for you are to be a Staff to the weak and poor; it is of ancient*

*ent uſe in this kind. It's ſaid in Scripture, that* The Scepter ſhall not depart from Judah. *It was of the like uſe in other Kingdoms*; Homer *the Greek Poet calls Kings and Princes* Scepter-Bearers.

4. The laſt thing is a Sword, *not a Military but Civil Sword*; *it is a Sword rather of defence then offence*: *not to defend your ſelf only, but your People alſo. If I might preſume to fix a Motto upon this Sword, as the valiant Lord* Talbot *had upon his*, *it ſhould be this*, Ego ſum domini Protectoris, ad protegendum populum meum, *I am the Lord Protectors to protect my people.*

This Speech being ended the Speaker took the Bible and gave the Protector his Oath: afterwards Mr. *Manton* made a prayer, wherein he recommended the Protector, Parliament, Council, the Forces by Land and Sea, Government, and People of the three Nations to the protection of God. Which being ended the Heralds by Trumpets proclaimed his Highneſſe Protector of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging: requiring all perſons to yeild him due obedience. At the end of all, the Protector with his Train carried by the Lord *Sherrard*, *Warwick's* Nephew, and the Lord *Roberts's* his eldeſt Son, returned in the ſame poſture, the Earl of *Warwick* ſitting at one end of the Coach againſt him, *Richard* his Son, and *Whitlock* in one, and the Lords *Liſle* and *Montague* in the other Boot, with Swords drawn, and the Lord *Cleypole* Maſter of the Horſe, led the Horſe of Honour in rich Capariſons to *Whitehall*. The Members to the Parliament Houſe, where they adjourned their ſitting to the 20. day of *January*.

He was now ſetled and eſtabliſhed in his firſt aſſumed Dignity, to the ſatisfaction of ſome part of the Army, onely *Lambert* was gravelled with that clauſe in which it gave the Protector power to name his Succeſſor. Whereby he ſaw himſelf deprived and fruſtrated of his Hopes, and that Contract that had paſſed between them. *Cromwell* therefore to ſecure himſelf, ſet the Army Regiment after Regiment to ſubſcribe Addreſſes congratulating his legal Authority, and declaring their readineſſe to aſſert Him therein with their lives and Fortunes; being the very ſame Method *Lambert* uſed before to prevent any Deſigns againſt him in the Army, when he was left upon his own bottome by the Parliament before.

In the mean time a more potent enterprize was formed by the Kings Intereſt, and the appearance of the Marquiſs of *Ormond* (as my Lord *Wilmot* from beyond Sea, was engaged before in *Penruddock*'s riſing in the Weſt) about *Suſſex*, whither ſome *Engliſh* forces for *Flanders* in the Kings pay and ſervice were to have been tranſmitted; but by the traiterous diſcovery of two former eminent Royaliſts, whom *Cromwell* by great penſions had corrupted, one a Knight, the other a Miniſter, and one that had a hand in the killing of *Rainsborough*, the whole Intrigue was diſcovered, the Marquiſs narrowly eſcaping back again to the King, who was diſpatching General *Marſin* with his Forces then in readineſſe.

He was no ſooner rid of the danger of this, but he was puzzled with *Lamberts* Cabal, who had inveagled and almoſt debauch'd *Fleetwood* and *Desborough*, *Cromwell's* neareſt Relations with his but emulous pretended Democratick principles; ſo *that*

*Crom-*

*Cromwell* (having diſſolved the Parliament at their acceſſe in *January*, when according to the new Inſtrument they met in a full Houſe, & began and were reſolved to undo all again that had paſſed during their Seclusion, nor would own the other Houſe of upſtart Mechanick Lords, but flew ſo high as the bringing *Oliver* into queſtion for thoſe confuſions of the State) was now in as tickliſh a condition as ever; therefore *Lambert* was gently laid aſide, and his Commiſſion taken from him, and his Regiments taken from him and diſpoſed to better hands, and Spies and Eves-droppers diſperſed through the Army to give him intelligence of their Affections and Inclinations.

This made him moſt ſuſpiciouſly fearful, ſo that he began to dread every perſon or ſtrange face he ſaw (which he would anxiouſly and intently view) for an Aſſaſſinate, that Book of *Killing no Murther* perpetually running in his mind; It was his conſtant Cuſtome to ſhift and change his lodging, to which he paſſed through twenty ſeveral locks, and out of which he had four or five wayes to avoid purſuit: when he went between *White Hall* and *Hampton-Court*, by private and back wayes, but never the ſame way backward and forward, he was alwayes in a Hurry, his Guards behind and before riding a full Gallop, and the Coach alwayes filled, eſpecially the Boot with Armed perſons, he himſelf being furniſhed with private weapons; and was now of more then difficult acceſſe to all perſons.

A Plot was again on foot, and like a Mongril deſign that had no iſſue, was made up one half by the Cavalier, and the other half by himſelf (who was ſure

ſure not to be behind hand in ſuch deſigns) for which Sir *Henry Slingsby*, and Dr. *Hewyt*, and three other private perſons loſt their lives by a High Court of Juſtice, the ſeverity whereof ſo afflicted or affected the mind of his Daughter *Cleypoole*, that falling ſick with the pains and torments of a—Ulcer, in her *Inteſtines*, and the ſtopping of her terms which made her frantick, ſhe never ceaſed roaring againſt that bloody man, her Father.

He was now again adorned with another Succeſſe and Triumph, by the Defeat of the *Spaniſh* Army and ſurrender of *Dunkirk* into his hands, *Lockhart* his Kinſman and General of the *Engliſh* Forces, being made Governour thereof, which I am conſtrained to paſs without any further remark, and from the heighth of this glory, level him with the duſt of other Mortals.

The Kingdome was now almoſt ſtupified and tired out with ſtruggling againſt his Government and Domination, when it pleaſed God to call him to an account of all that Miſchief he had perpetrated; uſhering his End with a great Whale ſome 3. months before, on the 2. of *June*, that came up as far as *Greenwich*, and was there killed, and more immediately by a terrible Storm of wind, the prognoſticks that the great *Leviathan* of men, that Tempeſt and overthrow of Government, was now going to his own place.

He was taken ſick at *Hampton-court*, having not been well in mind ſometime before (troubled with the laſt frantick words of his beloved Daughter *Cleypole*, who threatned Judgement like another mad *Caſſandra*, and with the inſinuations and encroachments

ments of the Republican party into the Army, nor were moſt of his Relations taint free of thoſe principles, (were but winding towards them:) the diſeaſe was a baſtard Tertain which appeared not at firſt of any danger, but after a weeks time it began to ſhew very deſperate ſymptoms, wherefore he was removed to *Whitehall*, where his Chaplains and others of that pious Family, kept private meetings and Faſts for his recovery, of which they were ſo vainly confident that they obtruded their unſeaſonable thanks to God for the certainty of it, and with the ſame unſeaſonable flattery and pickthank with the Protector, deluded him into the like perſwaſion, ſo that he told his Phyſicians, *He ſhould not dy this bout*; but the Fits proving worſe and worſe, and cauſing him to talk idlely, and to faint often, They in Council concluded, he could ſcarce ſurvive another Paroxyſme, at which the Privy Council being aſtoniſhed, they immediately repaired to him about his ſetling a Succeſſor, whom by the Petition he was to declare in his life-time; but he was then ſcarce himſelf, which they perceiving, interrogated him, if he appointed not his Son *Richard*, whereunto he anſwered in the Affirmative. It was ſuppoſed that he had deſigned *Fleetwood* in his ultimate thoughts, but the diſtraction of the choyce betwixt his Son and Son in Law, had made him leave it undetermined (a private Will he made at his firſt ſickning at *Hampton-court*:) Continuing in this condition, he dyed on *Friday* the ſaid 3. of *September* at 3. of the Clock in the Afternoon, though divers rumors were ſpread, that he was carried away in the Tempeſt the day before: his body being opened and Embalmed his Milt was found

full

full of corruption and filth, which was ſo ſtrong and ſtinking, that after the Corps were Embalmed and filled with Aromatick odours, and wrapt in Cere-cloth, ſix double, in an inner ſheet of Lead, and a ſtrong Wooden-coffin, yet the filth broke thorough them all, and raiſed ſuch a noiſome ſtink, that they were forced to bury him out of hand; but his name and memory ſtinks worſe.

The Corps (preſently after his expiration) being buryed for the aforeſaid reaſon, a Coffin was on the 26. of *September*, about 10 at night, privatly removed from *White-hall* in a Mourning Herſe, attended by his Domeſtick Servants, none of whom ſhed one *Tear*, to *Sommerſet-houſe*, where it remained in private for ſome dayes, till all things were in readineſs for publick view; which being accompliſhed, his Effigies was with great ſtate and magnificence expoſed openly; multitudes daily flocking to ſee the Sight, which appeared in this order.

The firſt room where the Spectators entred, was wholly hung with Black: at the upper end whereof, was placed a Cloath and Chair of State: In like manner was the ſecond and third, all having Scutcheons very thick upon the Walls, and Guards of Partizans placed in each room for people to paſs through. The fourth room was compleatly hung with black Velvet, the Ceiling being of the ſame; here lay the Effigies with a large Canopy of Black Velvet fringed, which hung over it. The Waxen Picture lying upon it's back apparrell'd in a rich Suit of Velvet, robed in a little Robe of Purple-velvet, laced with a rich gold Lace, furr'd with Ermins: upon the Kirtle was a large Robe of Purple-Velvet, laced and furr'd as the former,

with

with rich ſtrings and taſſels of Gold. The Kirtle was girt with a rich embroydered Belt, wherein was a Sword bravely guilt and hatched with gold, which hung by the ſide of this *fine thing*. In the right hand was a Scepter, in the left a Globe; upon his head was placed a Purple-Velvet-Cap furr'd with Ermines, ſutable to the Robes; behind the head was placed a rich Chair of Tiſſued gold, whereon was placed an Imperial crown, which lay high that the people might behold it. The Bed of State whereon he lay, was covered with a large Pall of Black-velvet, under which was a Holland Sheet, born up by ſix ſtools covered with Cloth of Gold. About the Bed was placed a compleat Sute of Arms & at the Feet of the Effigies ſtood his Creſt. This Bed had fix'd about it an Aſcent of two ſteps, a little from thence ſtood 8 ſilver Candleſticks, about five foot high, with white wax tapers ſtanding in them, of three foot long. All theſe things were environed with Rails and Ballaſters fourſquare, covered with Velvet; at each corner thereof was erected an upright pillar, which bore on their tops Lions and Dragons, who held in their paws Streamers crowned. On both ſides of the Bed were ſet up in Sockets, four great Standards of the Protectors Arms with Banners and Banrols of War, painted upon Taffaty, about the Bed ſtood men in mourning bare-headed; and without the Rails others to receive people in, and turn them out again.

When this Shew had been ſeen for many weeks together, the Scene was then altered; the Effigies being removed into another room, it was there ſet up, ſtanding upon an Aſcent under a Cloath of State; being veſted as it was before, lying: only now his purple-

purple-Velvet-Cap was changed for a Crown. In the ſame manner (as formerly) were men waiting upon him bare-headed. In this manner he continued untill the 23. of *Nov.* which day was appointed to carry him in ſolemnity to *Weſtminſter-Abby*.

This great Funeral was performed with very great State, in this manner following. All things being in readineſſe, the Waxen Picture of the Protector (with a Crown on his Head, a Sword by his ſide, a Globe & Scepter in his hands) was taken down from his ſtanding, and laid in an open Chariot, covered all over with black Velvet, & adorned with moſt gaudy & ſlanting Plumes & Scutcheons, & drawn by 6 Horſes in black Velvet. The Streets from *Somerſet-houſe* to *Weſtminſter-Abby*, were guarded by Soldiers in new Red-coats and Black Buttons, with their Enſigns wrapt in Cypreſs: which made a Lane to keep off Spectators from crouding the Actors.

The Proceſſion.

*In the firſt place went a Marſhal attended by his Deputy, and 13. more on horſe-back, to clear the way; after him followed the poor men of* Weſtminſter *by two and two in Mourning Gowns and Hoods; next to them, the Servants of thoſe perſons of quality that attended the Funeral. Theſe were followed by the Protectors late domeſtick Servants, with his Barge-men and Water-men. Then came the Servants of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of* London. *Following them, were Gentlemen Attendants on Foraign Ambaſſadors and Publick Miniſters. After marched the poor Knights of* Windſor *in Gowns and Hoods: then the Clerks, Secretaries, and Officers of the Army, Admiralty, Treaſury, Navy, and Exchequer: next, the Commiſſio-*

*Commiſſioners of the Exciſe, of the Army, and Committee of the Navy. Then the Commiſſioners for approbation of Preachers: behind theſe followed all the Officers, Meſſengers, and Clerks belonging to the Privy Council, and both Houſes of Parliament. Next in order followed his Phyſicians, The head Officers of the Army, the Officers & Aldermen of* London. *The Maſters of Chancery, and Olivers Council at Law, the Judges of Admiralty, Judges of both Benches, and Lord Mayor of* London. *The Perſons allied to the Protector, and the Members of the other Houſe, the publique Miniſters of Forraign-Princes. The* Holland *Ambaſſador alone, having his Traine held up by 4 Gentlemen. Then the* Portugal *Ambaſſador, in like manner. The Commiſſioners of the great Seal. The Commiſſioners of the Treaſury. The Members of the Privy Council. All the Grandees in cloſe Mourning (but it was once adviſed otherwayes for fear of a ſurpriſe in the ſtreets) the reſt but in ordinary.*

*The whole Aſſembly paſſing along in diviſions, were diſtinguiſhed by Drums, Trumpets, Banners & Horſes, whereof there were 11. in all, 4. being covered with black Cloth, and 7. in Velvet. Theſe paſſing in fine order, at length came the Chariot with the Effigies, on each ſide of which were 6. Banner-Rolls, (12. in all) born by ſeveral perſons; and likewiſe ſeveral pieces of the Protectors Arms, caried by 8. Officers of the Army, attended by the Heralds. Next went* Garter *principal King of Arms, attended by a Gentleman on each hand bare-headed. Next came the Chief Mourner. And to conclude all, came the Horſe of Honour, in very rich Trappings imbroydered on Crimſon-velvet, & adorned with white, red, and yellow plumes of Feathers, being*

*being led by the Maſter of the Horſe. The Rear of this braave ſhew was brought up by the Protectors Guard of Halberdiers, the Warders of the Tower, and a Troop of Horſe.*

The Effigies in this manner being brought to the Weſt-Gate of the *Abby-Church* of *Weſtminſter*, it was taken from the Chariot by ten Gentlemen, who carried it to the Eaſt-end of the Church, and there placed the Picture in a moſt magnificent Structure, built in the ſame form as one before had been (on the like occaſion) for K. *James*, but much more Stately.

And here he lodg'd & *uſurped* a *Graave* (the impatient Spectators fretting at this pompous Mummery and Magnificent *cheat*, taking his Funeral Triumphs for a more ſolemn *Cozenage* of the Executioner, till the due inevitable Juſtice of Heaven found him out, after the reduction of His Sacred Majeſty in peace to His Kingdoms, which would very difficultly have been accompliſhed if this reſolute deſtroyer had ſurvived to that bleſſed time.

On the 30. day of *January* 1660. that day 12. years of his moſt nefarious parricide, his Carcais with *Bradſhaws* & *Iretons*, having been digg'd out of their Graves, were carried to the *Red-Lyon* in *Holborn*, & from thence drawn in Sledges to *Tyburn*, where they hanged from Ten of the Clock in the morning till Sun-ſet, with their Faces towards *Whitehal*, and were then inhumed under the *Gallowes*, and his Head ſet upon *Weſtminſter-hall* to be the becoming Spectacle of his Treaſon, where on that *Pinacle* and *Legal Advancement* it is fit to leave this Ambitious Wretch.

FINIS.